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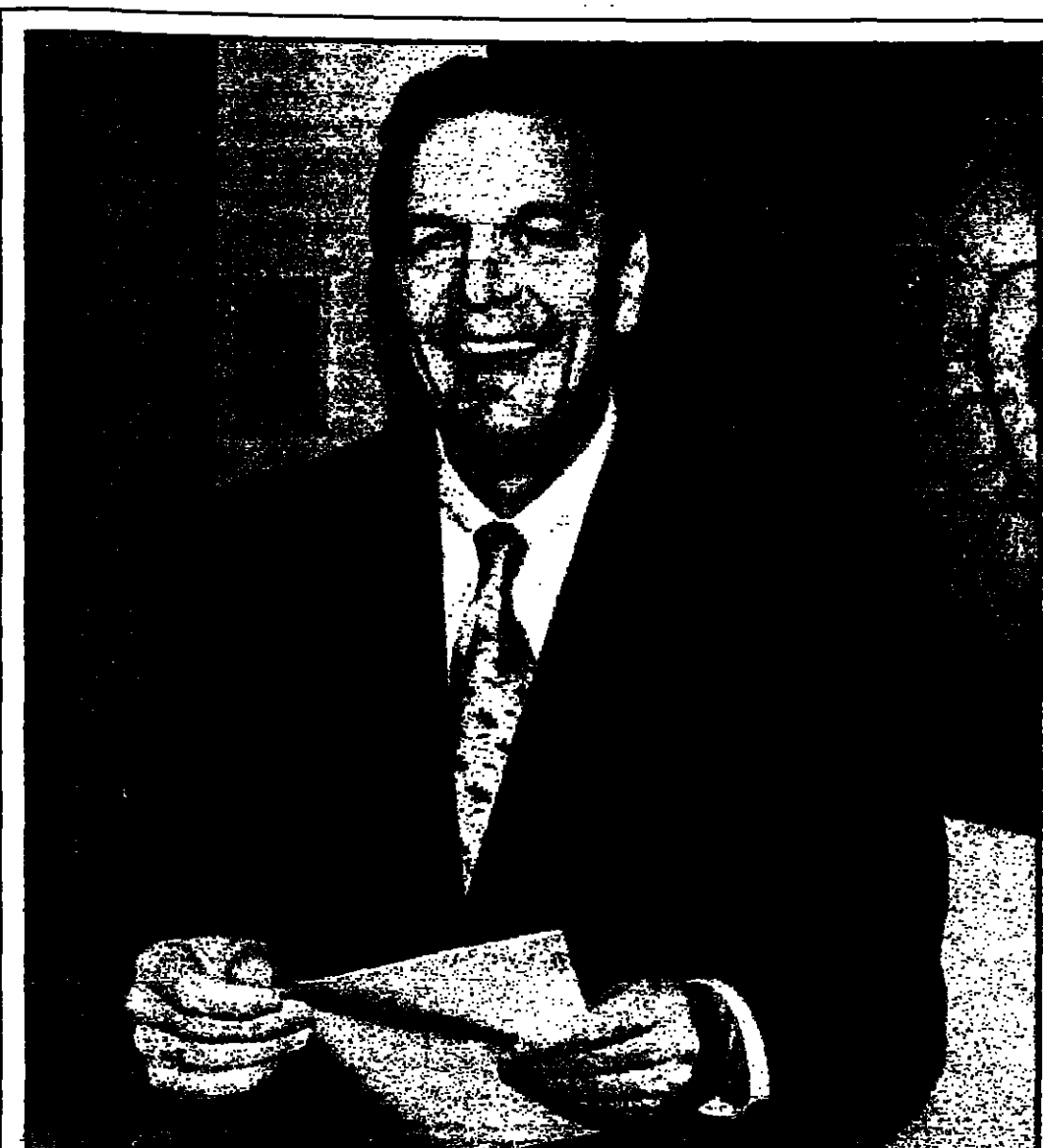
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Lower Saxony Premier Gerhard Schröder voting in yesterday's state-level election. The Social Democrat's sweeping victory effectively crowned him as Chancellor-Helmut Kohl's main rival in September's federal elections. (Reuters)

SPD contender consolidates challenge to Kohl's 16-year rule

By ERIK KIRSCHBAUM
BONN (Reuters) - Germany's Social Democrats yesterday expressed confidence that their overwhelming election victory in Lower Saxony state would propel the party back into power in Bonn after 16 years on the opposition benches.
SPD party manager Franz Mueentfering told reporters in Bonn that Lower Saxony Premier Gerhard Schröder had secured the chance to lead the party against Chancellor Helmut Kohl in a federal poll set for September 27.
"This was the SPD's greatest margin of victory in Lower Saxony since World War II and a major defeat for Helmut Kohl," Mueentfering said. "Kohl wanted a signal from Lower Saxony - and that's exactly what he got."
Kohl, 67, whose popularity has slumped with the national unemployment rate running at nearly 13 percent, had campaigned extensively for his Christian Democratic Union to try to weaken Schröder, 53, a telegenic moderate seen as the most dangerous rival to his bid to win a fifth term.
Mueentfering said SPD members would be galvanized by the enormous size of Schröder's triumph and would have no trouble backing the pro-business pragmatist, even though many party members prefer left-leaning chairman Oskar Lafontaine.
"There won't be any problems rallying around the candidate in our party," Mueentfering said when asked about reservations left-leaning SPD members have towards Schröder.
"We have a great winner on our side," Mueentfering added. "The problems will be in the other party. They will have the poisoned debate about whether they can win with Helmut Kohl."
Computer projections showed Schröder won election for a third term with more than 48% of the vote in Germany's third-largest state.
"The 800,000 red [SPD] brothers and sisters in Germany are getting up on their feet right now and we are all heading for the chancellery," Mueentfering said.
"We want to get in there," he added, playfully borrowing a line that Schröder reportedly shouted late one night while rattling the chancellery gates as a young member of parliament in 1982.

PM offers Lebanon pullout for security

By JAY BUSHINSKY
Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu offered to withdraw from Lebanon yesterday if the Lebanese government provides the requisite security backup. He based the proposal on UN Security Council Resolution 425.
The apparent policy shift could be detected by the omission of Syria from Netanyahu's frame of reference. He did not make the pullback contingent on Damascus' consent or define it as a byproduct of a projected peace treaty with Syria.
"If the government of Lebanon cooperates with us in the establishment of appropriate security arrangements in southern Lebanon, we will be delighted to depart from Lebanon in the framework of implementation of Resolution 425," Netanyahu told the cabinet.
Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai elaborated on Netanyahu's formulation by saying: "The IDF will continue to operate in southern Lebanon and to defend the northern border settlements. At the same time, the government accepts UN Resolution 425 according to its interpretation, namely that the government of Lebanon will act to assure its control in Lebanon and prevent hostile activities against Israel from being perpetrated from Lebanon."
But the Syrian aspect was not totally eliminated from the picture.
Cabinet secretary Dan Naveh and Netanyahu's foreign policy adviser, Uzi Arad, reportedly were in Paris because of diplomatic signals that Syria is interested in renewing negotiations.
A French Foreign Ministry spokesman said he knew nothing of the visit, but French Foreign Minister Hubert Vedrine said France is willing to do what it can to help any dialogue.
See LEBANON, Page 2

F-15 jet crashes outside Nablus

Two IAF aviators killed after hitting mountaintop antenna

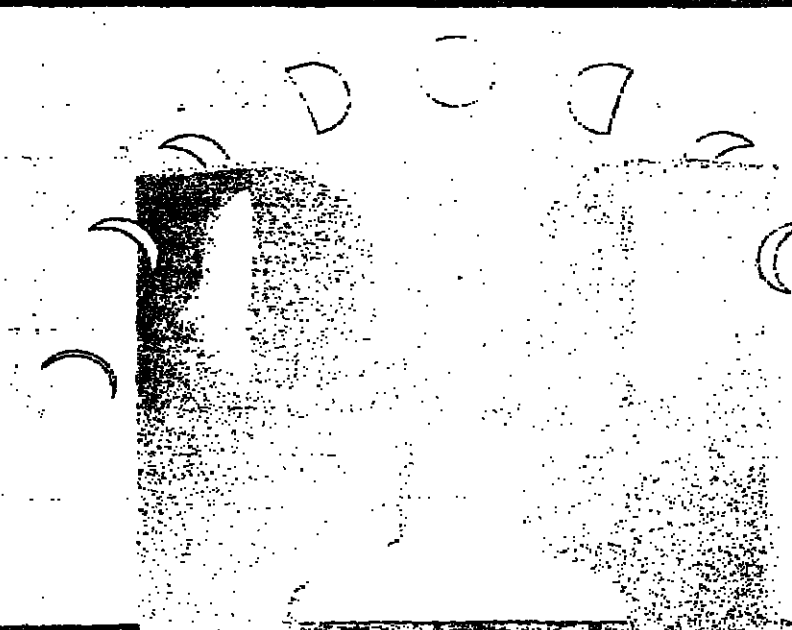
By ARNOLD O'SULLIVAN
An air force F-15 flying low over the West Bank yesterday in a routine training run hit an antenna on Mount Eval, outside Nablus, and crashed into a nearby mountain. The two aviators died instantly.
They were identified as pilot Maj. Uriel Kolton, 27, from Bat Yam, and weapons officer Capt. Uri Manor, 21, from Haifa. Both are to be buried today.
OC Air Force Maj. Gen. Eitan Ben-Eliahu appointed an internal inquiry to be headed by a colonel. IAF flight training was halted for a day.
The advanced F-15D had been flying at a height of about 2,000 meters at sea when, at around 10 a.m., it headed east in a simulated attack, said Brig. Gen. Avner Naveh, chief of the air branch.
He said that the jet swooped down to about 1,260 meters. The entire attack was to have lasted two to three minutes.
The peak of Mt. Eval, one of the highest mountains in Samaria, is bristling with military antennas. Most pilots are aware of them. Kolton was a deputy squadron commander and considered a veteran pilot. He radioed in that the weather was not bad, and that he could carry on with the simulated attack. It was the last word received from him.
See CRASH, Page 3

Will PM mark jubilee with Jews for Jesus?

By MARILYN HENRY
NEW YORK - What may be the largest official "Israel at 50" celebration in the US is being sponsored by a Christian coalition and may feature Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, along with Messianic Jews, *The New York Jewish Week* reported on Friday.
The event, planned by the Christian Alliance for Israel and sanctioned by the Israel 50th Anniversary Committee, will be held from April 29 to May 3 in Orlando, Florida, and may draw up to 18,000 people.
Netanyahu's media adviser, Shai Bazak, said that the prime minister would not be traveling to the US before May 16. This would preclude Netanyahu's participation in the Florida event.
"We are not planning anything else in the US," Bazak said. He was unaware of the events planned by the Christian Alliance for Israel.
The alliance is comprised of Christian individuals, churches, and organizations "who share a love for and a commitment to Israel and the Jewish people," the newspaper reported.
However, Jews for Judaism, a counter-missionary group, said the event was a "who's who of the missionary movement."
Mark Powers, the head of Jews for Judaism, told the *Jewish Week* that one of the organizers, Jonathan Bernis of Hear O Israel ministries, "claims to have converted 35,000 Jews in the last three years in Russia."
Rabbi Yechiel Eckstein, who has conducted outreach to the Evangelical community, said he turned down an invitation to appear because "it had a strong messianic thrust."
The chairman of the Israeli anniversary committee, Marvin Josephson, told the *Jewish Week* that the request to allow the alliance to use the official designation came from Israel, but he declined to say from whom.
"We checked [the alliance] out with a responsible Jewish organization that monitors such things, and we were told they are a very responsible organization," he said.

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NEWS

in brief

Jerusalem tax adviser missing

Jerusalem police last night continued their extensive search for Menashe Dallal, who has been missing since he was last seen on Thursday in the Bayit Vegan neighborhood.

Dallal, 46, works as a tax adviser, and left his home on Rehov Agnon at around 6 p.m. for a business meeting in Bayit Vegan. As his driver's license had been suspended, his friend, Morris Dahan, volunteered to drive him.

"Menashe was very tired, but he looked completely calm and didn't show any signs of distress," Dahan was quoted as saying. "I suggested that I drive him back, but he said that he'd take a taxi."

Police learned that at around 8 p.m. Dallal called his office to check if there were any messages for him, and at 8:45 he left the office. That was the last anyone saw of him. *Elli Wohlgelemer*

Graveside ceremony marks Rabin's birthday

About 100 people, including Labor Party chairman Ehud Barak, leading Labor MKs, and members of Dor Shalom and of the Rabin family gathered at Yitzhak Rabin's grave on Mount Herzl in Jerusalem yesterday for a ceremony to mark the late premier's 76th birthday.

MK Shimon Peres recalled many of the milestones in Rabin's life, including the War of Independence, when he was a young commander, and the signing of the Oslo Accords.

"Yitzhak was first in war, first in peace, and first in the love of the nation... we are all in pain, but on your birthday, there is nothing left except to say we will continue your path," he said. *Itim*

High Court to hear petitions against Ravi

The High Court of Justice has agreed to hear two petitions by a three-judge panel regarding former General Security Service agent Avishai Ravi.

One petition calls for Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate Ravi's involvement in the assassination of prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, while the other calls for Ravi to be charged with perjury for statements he made during the trial of Yigal Amir.

"This is a minor victory against Ravi, as now the state cannot just close the Ravi case," said right-wing activist Ronn Torossian, who filed both petitions.

"The state is now on notice that we will not stop fighting Ravi until he is put in jail, and the story of the Rabin assassination is uncovered." *Elli Wohlgelemer*

Arsonists get 15 months

Two people, one of them a minor, who had torched an Arab car the day after the Ben-Yehuda pedestrian mall bombing in September were sentenced to 15 months in prison and 15 months probation by Jerusalem District Court Judge Zvi Segal yesterday.

The probation office had recommended community service, but Segal said he wanted to deter other potential criminals.

The arsonists' lawyer asked the court to delay carrying out the sentence, so he could appeal it to the Supreme Court. *Itim*

J'lem, Wakf agree to move squatters

The Jerusalem municipality has reached an agreement with the Wakf to remove within a month about 60 families of homeless Palestinians who are squatting on Wakf land, according to city spokesman Hagai Elias. The land is slated for the construction of an educational center for Arab children and for youth with special needs.

"The Wakf understands that it will not look good for them if the Arabs are not moving from a place that will help troubled kids," said Elias. "That's why they agreed with us that they will do their best to help them withdraw from the place, so that we can immediately build the school." *Elli Wohlgelemer*

Man found in quarry was murdered

Fouaz Abbas of Kafr Kana, whose body was found in a quarry near Tiberias on Saturday after he had gone missing on February 15, was murdered by a shot in the head, an autopsy performed at the Forensic Institute at Abu Kabir has determined. *Itim*

Sharansky in Moscow to block nuclear cooperation with Iran

By JAY BUSHINSKY and news agencies

Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky flew to Moscow yesterday to nail down a Russian commitment against supplying dual-purpose nuclear technology and ballistic missile components and expertise to Iran.

Except for a meeting with Russian industrialists, Sharansky's talks with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and Foreign

Minister Yevgeny Primakov will focus on prospects of developing strategic cooperation between Russia and Israel, an aide said.

"Sharansky is certain that Russia is well on its way to regaining its status as a superpower and therefore believes it is essential for its relationship with Israel to be positive and mutually advantageous," he went on.

The prospective meeting with Chernomyrdin is scheduled in advance of the Russian leader's

planned rendezvous in Washington with US Vice President Al Gore. There too Russia's involvement in Iran's ballistic missile program will be the central issue.

Two weeks ago, Sharansky met Gore in Washington to discuss efforts to encourage Russia to refrain from nuclear and missile cooperation with Iran.

The trip is Sharansky's second to his native land since his release from a Soviet prison in a 1986 East-West prisoner swap. He is

due back in Israel on Wednesday morning.

Last week, Iranian Foreign Minister Kamal Kharrazi visited Russia, where he and his counterparts pledged to abide fully by the United Nations charter and international obligations in working together in the field of civil nuclear power.

A statement issued by Primakov and Kharrazi on Friday denied "as wholly without foundation various declarations alleging that

Moscow and Tehran are cooperating in the creation of weapons of mass destruction in Iran."

Russia has refused to abandon an \$800 million contract to construct Iran's Bushehr nuclear power plant despite suggestions by the US and Israel that the station could enable Tehran to develop nuclear arms technology.

Iran says its program at Bushehr is strictly civil and under the scrutiny of the UN's International Atomic Energy Agency.

Families dismiss Weizman blame for '78 coastal-road massacre

By BAT-SHEVA TSUR

Families of victims of the coastal road terror attack of 20 years ago deplored accusations published yesterday in *Yediot Aharonot* that President Ezer Weizman, who was defense minister at the time, could have prevented the tragedy.

The allegations were denounced as politically motivated, given they were published only several days before he comes up for reelection in the Knesset.

"It was mean," was Weizman's comment when asked about the article.

"Why did they have to wait 20 years to publish this?" One victim's relative called the report "wicked and unfair; it is putting Weizman up against the wall."

The report charged that Weizman had learned a few weeks before via military intelligence that an attack was being planned. It alleged that he sent a naval commando unit to raid a terrorist base, but ordered only that their weapons be destroyed.

Weizman was accused of not calling for the base to be wiped out so as to avoid embarrassment on the eve of a planned visit to Washington.

In the attack on an Egged bus, 35 people were killed and more than 70 were injured.

Yesterday, following a memorial ceremony at the Gelliot junction where the bus was commandeered, Weizman shook hands with victims' relatives. Many expressed support for him. *Itim* reported.

The article was out of place and cannot bring back the dead," said Bella Sela who lost several family members.

"It was not fair or decent. I'm sure it was prompted by the upcoming presidential elections," said Lily Glutman whose husband, Shimon, died in the massacre.

"Do they really think they can



Lily Glutman, whose husband was killed in the 1978 coastal road massacre, in which she and her two children were wounded, lays a wreath of flowers on the memorial to the dead near the Gelliot junction yesterday, as President Ezer Weizman and his wife, Reuma, look on. (Yael Somkh/Israel Sun)

come up with an expose when we were there on the bus?" she said.

"They simply poured salt on open wounds and it harmed the president, his family, and the families of the victims."

US 'charity' aids terrorists' families

"Since its inception in 1987, the Holy Land Foundation has brought relief to scores of people throughout the world," reads the web site for this "charitable" organization, based in Richardson, Texas. "We are the only hope for many. With the generous support from our donors, we provide numerous services that are not available to the needy from any other source."

Now there is an understatement. If charges against Mohammed Anati, 26, are true, the HLF, an organization which he allegedly ran in Israel, is responsible for paying hundreds if not thousands of dollars each month to the families of suicide bombers. A service, indeed, that many other sources do not provide.

Anati was arrested in December, and a hearing to extend his remand was held yesterday in a military court in Lod.

Israel Radio reported that thousands of documents were confiscated recently showing that large sums of money from the organization were transferred to the families of suicide bombers or jailed terrorists.

IN CONTEXT

By HERB KEINON

of suicide bombers or jailed terrorists.

In light of these activities, the explanation of the group's work on its web site takes on added meaning.

"The Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development is a non-profit organization with focus on national and international programs aimed at helping the needy, empowering the disadvantaged, and finding practical solutions for human suffering everywhere," the site reads.

"We believe that it is a God-given responsibility to permeate all the barriers separating humans and give them the best possible assistance."

"The future of the world depends on what we do today. We feel blessed to be a mechanism for channeling needed resources into the lives of others."

Yigal Carmon, a former counter-terrorism adviser to prime minister Yitzhak Shamir and Yitzhak Rabin, said the HLF is one of four "charitable" organizations declared illegal by Israel last year. The organizations, however, continue to operate legally and openly in the US and Europe. Carmon said the HLF raises millions of dollars a year for Hamas and Islamic fundamentalists. He said the money is transferred relatively easily to Israel, often from an account abroad to an account in an Israeli bank.

According to Carmon, the group's fundraising activities are centered among Arab-Americans, but they also reach non-Arab Americans who do not realize where the money is going.

Carmon said that the money funneled to the families of terrorists goes a long way toward countering any deterrent effect gained by the long-standing Israeli policy of destroying the homes of terrorists, amid the belief that this will deter the terrorists.

"If the family knows it will be receiving a monthly stipend, the destruction of the home is less painful," he said.

Yigal Pressler, another former adviser on counter-terrorism, said that providing financially for the families of terrorists helps Hamas enlist suicide bombers. "Like spies who are paid for their service, not all of those who carry out these attacks are working from purely ideological reasons," he said.

Pressler said the monetary incentive is a factor in the decision by some people in dire economic straits, who have nothing to lose, to become terrorists.

"People commit suicide for all different reasons," Pressler said, "including economic reasons. So if someone can both attain life in paradise as a martyr, and take care of his family in the process, the incentive is even greater."

Palestinian accused of funding Hamas activists

By ARREN O'SULLIVAN

The military court in Lod yesterday remanded for another 10 days a Palestinian man charged with funneling funds from a US-based group to families of dead and jailed Hamas activists.

A charge sheet filed against Mohammed Othman, 25, from Shuafat refugee camp in Jerusalem, accuses him of running local operations of the Richardson, Texas-based Holy Land Foundation, which funnels money

to Hamas prisoners, and families of those who die in "security operations against Israeli forces."

Israel radio said that high-level US law enforcement officials were involved in the investigation of Othman, who was reportedly arrested in December. He also goes by the name of Rahman Anati.

The charge sheet says that Othman became the foundation's director in 1993, and that he remained involved after Israel outlawed the group last May.

The radio said that thousands of

documents had been seized showing that hundreds to thousands of dollars were paid each month to families of Hamas suicide bombers and militants serving life terms.

Hamas leader, Abdel-Aziz Rantisi, said in response from the Gaza Strip, that "these are fabricated lies aimed at distorting the idea of martyrdom by claiming that Moslems were killing themselves for money."

"Moslems sacrifice their souls and their blood for the sake of Allah and to be eternalized in

Janna (Paradise) and not for earthly gains," he said.

Major-General (res.) Oren Shabor, a former government coordinator for the West Bank and Gaza, said that Hamas had for years built itself up using money supposedly destined for charity.

"These funds enable underwriting both terrorist actions and aid to those they call the victims of activities on their side - the murderers, or more accurately, families of the murderers," Shabor told the radio.

LEBANON

Continued from Page 1

"We could offer a service to Israel, Lebanon, and Syria, because the three questions are interlocked, and they know this," he said.

Netanyahu and Mordchai are expected to press the government's case on Lebanon in separate trips to Europe this week. Netanyahu will be visiting Norway, which has peacekeepers in south Lebanon. Mordchai has plans to travel to France, which has longstanding interests in Lebanon and is a member of the Grapes of Wrath monitoring committee.

Science Minister Michael Eitan welcomed Netanyahu's stand, describing it as a substantive change in Israel's position.

"We will defend the northern part of our country from the international border," Eitan said.

An official source said Netanyahu's statement "certainly is a change in position." He contended that until this change came about, the conventional wisdom was that "we are in a peace process and that the moment the Syrian channel reached the point that permitted it, Lebanon would be invoked."

The source said that throughout this stage of intermittent negotia-

tions Israel "did not want to upset the Syrian apple cart. We did not talk about Resolution 425 because we relied on the peace process."

The sea change in policy, as enunciated by Netanyahu and supported by Mordchai, he went on, is that "now we are talking about 425, which Lebanon has always wanted us to implement."

Resolution 425 was adopted by the UN body in 1978 after Operation Litani - an incursion that brought the IDF to the southern banks of the Litani river. It called for the IDF's withdrawal and interposed the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) as the intended peacekeeping buffer.

The source summarized the current initiative as a three-phased progression: IDF withdrawal, restoration of Lebanese sovereignty over the evacuated area, and the establishment of peace and security along the international border. "One is dependent on the other," he said.

He differentiated between the new approach and the former one to the extent that now "we are not talking about peace or normalization, but only about security." This requires that Israel and Lebanon sit down and discuss the requisite arrangements, he went on.

The source assumed that since the arrangements needed for peace and security directly relate to the local inhabitants, this would

inevitably lead to mutually-acceptable assurances for the safety of the South Lebanon Army's officers and men.

Senior Syrian officials described Netanyahu's proposal as the "Lebanon First" idea in a new guise and another attempt by Israel to split the Lebanon and Syria tracks.

Both Lebanon and Syria made it clear that the only interpretation of 425 that they would accept would be a full and unconditional withdrawal without any security

arrangements.

Vedrine supported their view. "Israel wants an undertaking on security, which until now Lebanon has refused to give because it is not compatible with the reconstruction of its sovereignty," he told Reuters yesterday.

"We can't tell Lebanon to accept something it does not want. But if it's a question of talking, listening, and passing on messages, we are of course willing."

Liat Collins and David Rudge contributed to the report.

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Eva van der Hoozen-Lauvenberg and all their families

Presidents' Conference chairman:

US won't force redeployment plan

By JAY BUSHINSKY

The notion that the US is about to dictate the terms and extent of the next IDF redeployment in the West Bank was dismissed as baseless yesterday by the chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, Melvin Salberg.

President Clinton made it clear that he will not put pressure on either party, Israelis or Palestinians, Salberg told a news conference.

He contended that presentation of an American formula to break the current impasse "would be construed as implicit pressure and we would oppose it."

"I believe in the president's commitment not to impose a solution," conference executive vice president Malcolm Hoenlein said.

He recalled that the chief executive gave his personal assurances to the Presidents' Conference that he would oppose such a tactic.

But, Hoenlein added: "There is a difference between proposing and imposing."

Salberg said he was "aware that the Palestinians have been urging the US to table its proposals."

However, the Presidents' Conference prefers that the parties "deal face to face and not act through third parties," he went on.

The Presidents' Conference convenes in Jerusalem will be followed



Melvin Salberg, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, addresses a Jerusalem press conference yesterday, as the conference's executive vice president, Malcolm Hoenlein, and Shoshana Cardin look on. (Brian Heller)

by a trip to Turkey, where the participants will be the guests of the Turkish government.

Turning to the Iraqi crisis, Salberg said Iraqi President Saddam Hussein is "a danger to world security." He said no coun-

try except Iraq used weapons of mass destruction against its own people and its neighbors.

He endorsed Pennsylvania Sen. Arlen Specter's recent proposal that Saddam be indicted as a war criminal.

Asked about the wave of pro-Saddam demonstrations in the West Bank and Gaza Strip last month, Salberg criticized Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat for "failing to condemn the anti-

Jewish and anti-Israel statements published in the Palestinian press."

He said the Presidents' Conference wrote to Arafat and urged him to condemn "the violent and vitriolic statements published in the Arabic press, but we have not yet received an answer."

PA denies connection to arms smugglers

ARIEH O'SULLIVAN and news agencies

Palestinian officials yesterday denied any involvement in an attempt to smuggle two boatloads of weapons into Israel from Jordan via the Dead Sea.

Meanwhile, the Palestinian Police in Gaza uncovered a cache of weapons, but said they did not know if they were being stockpiled for terrorist purposes.

A Palestinian Police spokesman said that four people who were working in a small factory producing pistols had been arrested.

Police seized about 45 pistols and submachine guns, the spokesman said, and were still investigating.

The IDF late Friday intercepted two boatloads of weapons and arms being smuggled from Jordan. A Palestinian was arrested. Authorities are investigating the possibility that the contraband was intended for the PA.

Chief of General Staff Lt. Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak reportedly told the cabinet yes-

terday that the weapons were intended for "elements" in the PA.

However, Ahmed Abdel Rahman, the Palestinian cabinet secretary, called the smuggling bid "a criminal act" and suggested that whoever was responsible probably had Israeli accomplices.

"Such a large-scale smuggling operation is not the work of one individual, but organized gangs that are usually binational, Arab and Israeli," he said.

Another Palestinian official accused Israel of blaming the PA as an excuse to not implement the peace accords.

Nine Jordanians were convicted in a military court in Jordan last Tuesday in an earlier case of smuggling arms by boat through the Dead Sea to the West Bank.

No information was immediately available on who the weapons were intended for, or whether there was any connection to this weekend's interception.

The Palestinian captured Friday is still being questioned.

'Four Mothers' urges diplomacy on Lebanon

By DAVID RUDGE

The Four Mothers movement yesterday expressed support for diplomatic efforts to reach an arrangement over south Lebanon that would guarantee the security of the northern border and enable the withdrawal of IDF troops from the security zone.

This follows reports that Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai will discuss the issue during his visit to Holland and France later this week.

Mordechai is expected to raise his proposal for an IDF pullout under UN Security Council Resolution 425 and the deployment of Lebanese army troops, backed by UNIFIL, to the international border.

"We want to support and strengthen the hand of the defense minister. We hope that he will be successful in his efforts and that an agreement will be achieved that will ensure security along the northern border and lead to the

withdrawal of the IDF from south Lebanon," said Masha Sheindorf, spokeswoman for the Four Mothers movement.

"We believe that the IDF is strong enough to be able to protect the North without our soldiers having to be entangled in south Lebanon."

"The Galilee can and should be defended from Israeli territory and not on foreign land. We believe that this would save lives. Any solution would also have to include arrangements that would guarantee the safety of the SLA."

Sheindorf maintained that the Lebanon issue only receives widespread coverage when the IDF suffers casualties.

"There was hysteria over a war with Iraq that did not happen. There is a war going on in Lebanon every day to which the public has become somewhat apathetic, because we have become accustomed to it and because not everybody has sons serving there," she said.

Two Tzurif cell members go on trial

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

Two members of the Tzurif terror cell which was responsible for blowing up the Apropos cafe in Tel Aviv and the murder of IDF Sgt. Sharon Edri were put on trial yesterday at a military court in Lod.

The two had been captured by IDF troops last November near Nabulus after undercover troops intercepted a Palestinian internal security van trying to smuggle them from Hebron to Nabulus. Since then, Jamal Hor, 27, and Abdel Rahman Ghanimat, 25, have been under interrogation and awaiting trial.

The Hamas terrorists are on their seventh day of a hunger strike called to protest their prison conditions. According to their lawyer they haven't been given a change of clothes for three months and are confined to their cells all day with no time for the traditional yard walk.

"They are being held in a very crowded cell with other prisoners with open and stinking toilets," said their lawyer, Allegra Pocheko. "They sleep on the floor without mattresses and are given nothing to read."

The judge did not refer to these

complaints since Pocheko had reportedly also filed a petition on the matter with the High Court of Justice.

The Hamas cell centered around the village of Tzurif and was responsible for killing at least 11 Israelis and wounding 49 before they were captured last April.

Two other members of the cell were captured last April and have already been sentenced. One is still at large and a sixth member blew himself up, apparently unintentionally, in the Apropos bombing.

The court also heard deliberations in the trial of the terror cell which had planned to blow up the Jerusalem Mall and kidnap soldiers and public figures, like Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert and Tel Aviv Mayor Ronni Milo.

One cell member, Khaled Mohammed Bakhat, was given a 20-month sentence plus six months on probation in a plea bargain. Three other cell members all pleaded guilty to charges against them, which included planting three bombs in Tel Aviv street in January 1997, injuring 13 people. Their sentences will be handed down in four weeks.

whether clouds in the area blocked the pilot's view of the antenna, or whether it was a case of human error. The likelihood of technical malfunction is considered low, but the possibility is also being examined.

The weather was borderline, but it was more likely that the crewmen missed sighting the antenna because they were intensely concentrating on the exercise when the crash occurred.

The F-15D was the most advanced model of the US-built jet until the arrival this year of the F-15I. The F-15I has a terrain-following radar system which experts believe could have prevented this type of accident.

The F-15D does not have a "black box," but carries equipment that videotapes its flights. The video, if found, could provide clues to what happened. Air force officials would not say last night whether they had found it.

CRASH

Continued from Page 1

The plane hit one of the antennas while flying at a speed of some 800 kilometers an hour.

Senior officers believe that the jet exploded on contact with the 80-meter-high antenna and that chunks of the aircraft fell into a nearby wadi, after which what remained of the plane ground its way up the next hill, leaving a charred trail of pieces.

Shuki Levine, security officer of the Samaria Regional Council, described the crash on Army Radio.

"There was a strong explosion and a mushroom cloud over Mt. Eyal. We saw pieces of the plane. We wanted to save the survivors if there were any. But there was nothing left to talk about," Levine said.

The IAF is to investigate.

TIME GOES BY

Bezeq gave false price data

The Jerusalem Post, 10.11.97

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NEWS

in brief

Naharayim victims remembered

A memorial ceremony is to be held at Naharayim today to mark the first anniversary of the killing of seven Beit Shemesh schoolgirls by a Jordanian soldier. Government leaders and senior Jordanian officials are to take part in the event, along with the families of the victims, the mayor of Beit Shemesh and the head of the Jordan Valley Regional Council. The ceremony is to take place on the hill in Naharayim, previously described as the "Island of Peace," where the massacre occurred.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, and Education Minister Yitzhak Levy are expected to attend the ceremony.

David Rudge

Liba'i considers proposal on US murder suspect

David Liba'i, the attorney for the youth wanted for a brutal murder in Maryland, is reportedly tending towards accepting the proposal by the Jerusalem District Court that the teenager be tried in the US and then jailed here, with the proviso that the US authorities not ask for a death sentence.

US authorities, however, have not yet responded to the proposal. Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein has also not yet formulated an opinion about it. The proposal came up at the opening of the youth's extradition hearing last Wednesday. The hearing is due to resume this morning.

Batsheva Tsor

Cyclone wins license for gridlock technology

The Karmiel-based Cyclone Aviation Products company has won a licensing agreement from the US Tolo company to manufacture and market unique gridlock structural technology in Israel, the company announced yesterday.

The state-of-the-art technology is used for forming locking airframes out of a variety of components, including aluminum and composite materials. The fins and other items manufactured are lighter, stronger, and last longer than those using traditional "sandwich" techniques.

Gideon Goren, director general of Cyclone, said the deal could bring in about \$15 million over five years.

Arieh O'Sullivan

Youth movements in dire financial straits

The Council of Youth Movements yesterday announced that the movements will soon have to stop their activities if they do not receive advances on their budgets for 1998.

Nissim Shalem, chairman of the council, sent a telegram to Shai Talmon, the Finance Ministry comptroller and a copy to Education Ministry Director-General Ben-Zion Dell. It said: "We understand that advances for the youth movements were prepared in the Education Ministry and there is no approval to pass them on. We are in serious trouble because we have not received the money we are supposed to get since the beginning of the year. This could shut down the youth movements' activities. We ask your help and intervention to release the advances as soon as possible."

Aryeh Dean Cohen

Habad disapproves messiah debate

Preoccupation with identifying the late Lubavitcher Rebbe, Menachem Mendel Schneerson, as the messiah "is clearly contrary to the rebbe's wishes," according to the principal Lubavitch rabbinic court. "Belief in the coming of the messiah and awaiting his imminent arrival is a basic tenet of the Jewish faith," said a statement issued at week's end in Brooklyn by the executive committee of the Central Committee of Habad-Lubavitch Rabbis in the US and Canada. "It is clear, however, that conjecture as to the possible identity of the messiah is not part of the basic tenet of Judaism."

Marilyn Henry

Levy, Suissa join inner cabinet

By JAY BUSHINSKY

The government yesterday appointed Education Minister Yitzhak Levy and Interior Minister Elyahu Suissa to the inner cabinet, but left the door open for one of them to give way to the next foreign minister in the event that one is appointed.

It also approved Uri Porat as director-general of the Israel Broadcasting Authority. Porat will

start his second stint at this post on April 8, following the resignation of incumbent Mordechai Kirschbaum.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu congratulated Levy as well as newly-named Transport Minister Shaul Yahalom on their new portfolios.

He also announced a wide-ranging proposal for expansion of the nation's infrastructure and removal of bureaucratic barriers

which have been hampering economic development.

There also were intensive deliberations about curtailing the employment of foreign workers in construction. A ministerial committee was assigned to confer on this matter and to report to the prime minister "about ways to cope with the construction industry's needs," the government communiqué said.

The government also formed a

ministerial committee on the development of the Negev and Galilee.

Its purpose will be to strengthen these regions' economic infrastructure and to foster the requisite conditions for dispersing the country's population. Authorization was given to Yahalom to continue cooperation with Jordan on the operation of a joint airport serving Eilat and Akaba.



Bon voyage

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu (left) presents Derech Eretz consortium heads Leif Leifson (second from right), CEO of Africa-Israel Corp., and John Beck (right), president of Canadian Highways International Corp., with the contract for the Cross-Israel Highway in Jerusalem yesterday. The consortium will finance, design, build and manage - at an investment of NIS 4 billion - an 86 km. section of the planned highway, which will ultimately stretch 300 km. from Galilee to Beersheba. (Byron McBurney)

Protesters condemn forced divorce of rape victim

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

A handful of people held a vigil outside the headquarters of the Tel Aviv Rabbinic Court yesterday, to protest a rabbinical ruling forcing a Bnei Brak couple with nine children to divorce after the wife was raped.

"The woman was raped, once, and now the rabbinate is raping her again," said one of the protesters, which was organized by the Rape Crisis Center and joined by Meretz activists.

The woman was gang-raped by three foreign workers upon leaving a Bnei Brak mikve some three

weeks ago. She told her husband what happened, but did not report it to the police.

The rabbinic ruling, which caused a public outrage last week, triggered off a series of angry comments from human rights and women's organizations.

"There is a limit to religious obtuseness which can punish again a woman who has suffered such a deep trauma and force her to leave her home," said Yael Doron, of the Rape Crisis Center. "Such rulings are unacceptable and intolerable at the end of the 20th century and we demand a solution to enable the two to continue living together."

The protesters carried posters saying "Don't rape her again,"

"Halacha against women," "Medieval darkness," and "Is being raped a crime?"

Passersby and people going in and out of the rabbinic building engaged in lively conversation with the demonstrators. Most of them expressed disbelief and disgust at the ruling.

"That family will just have to move away, to where nobody knows them; they will not be able to continue living in Bnei Brak," one man told his wife.

"They chose to live in a haredi community, they have to accept those rules," another man said. "Me, I would never divorce my wife over a thing like that."

The group dispersed after a few hours at police request.

'Block kohen kid-ranch program'

By Jerusalem Post Staff and news agencies

The local office of Defense for Children International is demanding that welfare officials intervene to prevent a reported plan to raise baby-boys who are kohanim (of the priestly class) in isolation to maintain their ritual purity, so they can ritually purify the rest of the Jewish people if the Temple is rebuilt.

The report in yesterday's *Ha'aretz* is "shocking," said Dr. Phillip Veerman, the director of DCI's local office, in a letter to Miriam Faber, chief welfare officer at the Labor and Social Affairs Ministry.

This attempt to raise children in "a gilded cage" is a form of child abuse, Veerman said, "and we fear that if this plan is implemented, these children will be taken advantage of."

According to the report, the Movement for Establishing the Temple, a Jerusalem-based group, has been campaigning in the religious community to have expectant families in which the husband is a kohen hand over their babies if they are boys.

"We need families to donate their children for the cause - it will be hard at first, but once we start, more will follow," said Rabbi David Yosef Elboim, who is in charge of finding willing parents-to-be.

So far, several families have expressed interest and at least one woman who is due to give birth in two months has agreed to have her son raised for the priesthood.

"We hope he will be our pioneer - we will start with him," said Elboim. Altogether, the group hopes to bring together a group of about 20 babies to raise.

Priests who are themselves ritually pure would be needed to ritually purify the Jewish people if the Temple is rebuilt. This would be done by sprinkling the people with a mixture containing the ashes of a red heifer mixed with spring water.

Among the families who have expressed interest in raising their sons through the Movement for Establishing the Temple are former members of the Kach movement.

Where to eat in Israel

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TANDOORI Indian Restaurant - The only restaurant in Israel where price SHAKES HANDS with QUALITY and quantity smiles. Live traditional Indian dancing daily. King's Wharf Lagoon Hotel. Tel/Fax: 07-633 878, 636 6674. Open noon-3:30 p.m.; 6 p.m.-midnight.

HERZLIYA PITUAH

TANDOORI Indian Restaurant - Only restaurant where price SHAKES HANDS with QUALITY and quantity smiles. Buffet lunch NIS 45 (children NIS 23). Open noon-3 p.m.; 7 p.m.-1 a.m. Mercasim Building, 32 Maskit St. Tel: 09-954 6702, Tel/Fax 954 6769.

ATLANTIS FISH & SEA FOOD RESTAURANT - Three Course Business Lunch for only NIS 59 (incl. one glass of wine). Open daily noon-1 a.m. Mercasim Building, 32 Maskit St. Tel: 09-956 8859.

JERUSALEM

ANGELO RISTORANTE ITALIANO - Frommer's 1997 Guide says, "The most superb pasta in the country." Also fresh fish & Roman specialties. Kasher Dairy. Call owners Angelo Di Segni / Lori Rosenkrantz for reservations. 8 Horkanos. Tel: 02-623 6065.

BIRD OF PARADISE (Old City) - Fresh home made food - Dairy and vegetarian cuisine, mellow atmosphere in the heart of the Jewish Quarter, live music and poetry. Kasher 56 Chabad St. (above the Cardo) Tel: 02-626 4723.

DARNA - Authentic Moroccan Restaurant, KOSHER. Our home is your home, 3 course business lunch, incl. traditional mint tea. Only NIS 59, with this ad. Open 12-3 p.m., 6:30-11:30 p.m. 3 Horkanos St. Tel: 02-624 5406.

EUCALYPTUS - The taste of Israel from Biblical Days. Excellent meat, fish & vegetarian dishes enhanced by a masterful use of herbs and spices. Luncheon specials. Evening entertainment. Rave reviews. Kasher. 7 Horkanos St. Tel: 02-624 4331.

HECHAL SHLOMO - RESTAURANT/CATERERS serving you the best, freshest, most delicious food in an exclusive environment. Functions for up to 150. Brit Milahs, Bar Mitzvahs, 7 Brachos, 58 King George St. Glatt Kasher/meat. Tel: 02-622 3312.

KORHNOOR Kasher Indian Restaurant - Kashrut supervision by Rabbi Yosef Fink. Buffet lunch NIS 47 (children NIS 24) Open 12-4 p.m.; 6 p.m.-midnight. Holiday Inn Hotel, The Crown Plaza. Tel: 02-658 8867, Tel/Fax: 02-653 6667.

LITTLE JERUSALEM - The Ticho House, Kasher Dairy & Fish. Open for breakfast, lunch, dinner. Delightful garden setting. Free entrance to the famous Anna Ticho Museum. Live Jazz Tuesday evenings. 9 HaRav Kook St. Tel: 02-624 4186.

MARVAD HAKSAMIN ORIENTAL RESTAURANT - Mid-Eastern and Yemenite food; Kasher/meat Open for lunch & dinner till 11 p.m. Sun.-Thurs., Fri. till 3 p.m. 16 King George St. Tel: 02-625 4470.

NORMAN'S STEAK'N BURGER - Freshest burgers, steaks, ribs, chicken, fish, salads and more, grilled to perfection. Family dining, American atmosphere & service, Kasher Jerusalem Rabbinat. 27 Enak Refaim, Garman Colony. Tel: 02-566 6603.

RESTAURANT MISHKENOT SHAANANIM - Superb French cuisine for lunch & dinner, 7 days a week. Outstanding wine cellar, elegant setting - spectacular view - private room. Located in Yemin Moshe (below the Guest House). Tel: 02-625 1042.

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SHENERS - Kreplach Soup to Jerusalem Mixed Grill. Great food at reasonable prices, served in a cozy modern setting. Luncheon specials. Open noon-11 p.m. Glatt Kasher-Lihadadrin. Kamei Nesharim 24, Givat Shaul. Tel: 02-661-1446.

SIGMUND CORNER BISTRO/CAFE - Art deco decor. Serving kosher crepes, sandwiches, soups & brewed coffees; reasonable prices. Sun.-Thurs. 7 a.m.-1 a.m., Fri. 7 a.m.-3 p.m., Sat. 6:55 p.m.-1 a.m. Corner Azaria/Ha'at Sts. Tel: 02-563-9212.

THE 7TH PLACE - Popular Jerusalem dining spot, authentic Southern Indian and dairy cuisine. Spacious, bright and friendly. Live show every night. Kasher. 37 Hill St. (Beit Agnon - the journalists center). Tel: 02-625 4495.

TROCADERO - New Italian Restaurant and Coffee Shop in the elegant Judaea Center at Gush Etzion Junction. Magnificent views. Private Party facilities. Free glass of wine with ad. Open 9 a.m. - midnight & Sat. night. Kasher dairy. Tel: 02-993 4040.

TZADDIK'S New York Style Deli - Jerusalem's authentic deli. Corned beef, roast beef, brisket, salami, all-beef hot dogs, H&H bagels, draft beer. Kasher-Mehadrin. 2 Tiferet Yisrael St., The Jewish Quarter. 10 a.m.-10 p.m. Tel: 02-6272148.

GALILEE-MITZPE MICHMANIM

TAIKO - Traditional Japanese home cooking known for its aesthetic and health qualities. Adjacent studio and exhibition of kimono design by the artist. A magnificent view of lower Galilee from the peak of Mt. Karmel. Tel/Fax: 04-988 4988.

NEGEV

DUSHARA NABATEAN RESTAURANT - Pastoral atmosphere, in heart of Mamshit antiquities site of the Nabatean period. Food, decor in the spirit of the period. Open Mon-Sat, closed Fri eves and holiday eves. Reservations required. Tel: 07-655-5556, 655-5743.

ROSH PINA

THE LEBANON RESTAURANT - Main road outside Rosh Pina, near Paz gas station. A connoisseurs' oriental restaurant. Selection of meats, salt-water fish, schwarme, humous - ful bread, salads, and many main courses. Tel: 06-693 7568.

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The Critic's verdict - "The Best Show in London" Israel's Critic's - "...I've seen this play at the National theatre in London, with Judi Dench in the leading role. The Israeli production is better, warmer and more exciting". (Michael Handelsaltz - Ha'aretz)

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DA mulls more Maccabiah indictments

By GALT LIPKIS BECK

More indictments might soon be filed in the Maccabiah disaster case, Tel Aviv District Attorney Miriam Rosenthal said at a press conference yesterday.

The state has already charged five people with causing death by negligence. Rosenthal said the

indictments currently considered are related to charges resulting from building code violations, not negligence.

The Maccabiah case was treated very quickly and efficiently considering the complexity of the investigation, she said.

She emphasized that the speedy treatment was not due to pressure

received from the Australian Jewish community.

The office handles about 2,000 cases of fraud each year, which are very difficult and time consuming to investigate, said Rosenthal. She attributed the recent rise in sexual offense charges mainly to the increase in the number of complaints. The media has played a

major part in increasing the public's awareness on the need to complain, she added.

Rosenthal also said that insufficient evidence is the main reason the Tel Aviv District Attorney's Office does not file indictments in about 40 percent of the cases it receives from the police.

On another matter, she said the

District Attorney's Office is to decide shortly whether to charge those at Yehot Aharonot who were investigated as part of the wiretapping case in which former editor Moshe Vardi and former news editor Ruth Ben-Ari were charged with wiretapping, she revealed.

Vardi and Ben-Ari were recently found guilty.



Makuya celebrate Israel's jubilee

Members of the Makuya, Japanese Christians who support Israel, march up the capital's Rehov Ben-Yehuda pedestrian mall yesterday in celebration of the nation's jubilee.

(Isaac Herz)

Court rules against moving Jahalin

The High Court of Justice ruled yesterday that dozens of Beduin families could temporarily stay in their encampment by Ma'aleh Adumim, pending a hearing of the case by an IDF committee.

Shlomo Lecker, lawyer for the 35 families of the Jahalin tribe, said he was "not optimistic about the appearance before a military committee. It doesn't stand a chance because there are usually settlers sitting on these committees, making decisions on land rights."

Police had evicted the families on February 16, using bulldozers to empty the Khan al-Ahmar area, to make way for the expansion of Ma'aleh Adumim.

Suleiman Mazarah, a Jahalin leader, said the families never left the site but remained there without shelter for a week until they received permission to pitch tents provided by the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

"The court has asked the Civil Administration to negotiate seriously with the Jahalin. It is a positive sign. We hope next time we go before the court it rejects the eviction altogether," Mazarah said.

"We will implement any decision by the High Court and we will expect the Beduin to do the same," said Civil Administration spokesman Peter Lerner.

(Reuters)

NEWS

in brief

Court upholds evidence against Gil

Tel Aviv District Court President Judge Menahem Ilan yesterday upheld the admissibility of the state's evidence against former Mossad agent Yehuda Gil, who is suspected of feeding false information about Syria.

Gil's attorney Yigal Shapira had argued that his client's statements were made under duress, - after being denied sleep, threatened and verbally abused.

Gil is charged with espionage - conveying information with the intent of harming state security, theft by a public servant and fraudulently receiving money under aggravated circumstances. He has denied the charges.

Galt Lipkis Beck

High Court to rule on removing Pinhasi

A five justice panel of the High Court will hear the Movement for Quality Government's position asking that MK Raphael Pinhasi (Shas) be removed as chairman of the Knesset House Committee, it was decided yesterday. Pinhasi was convicted of fraud for his failure to report the hiring of yeshiva students during his party's 1988 election campaign.

When the House Committee recently decided that Pinhasi did not have to step down, the movement petitioned the court.

Itim

Senior Spanish defense official arriving

Pedro Morenes Eulate, the secretary of state from the Spanish Defense Ministry is expected today for a three-day visit as guest of Defense Ministry Director-General Ilan Biran.

The two met at the Paris Air Show last June. Eulate is to lead a delegation of several senior officials from the Spanish Defense Ministry. He is also scheduled to meet with Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai and to visit IDF bases and tour Air Force industry plants.

Jerusalem Post Staff

Machanaim celebrates 10th anniversary

Machanaim, the organization for spiritual absorption for Jews from the former Soviet Union, celebrates its 10th anniversary today in a ceremony at the Jerusalem Theater, to be attended by Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Yisrael Lau, Education Minister Yitzhak Levy, Absorption Minister Yuli Edelstein, and Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert.

Machanaim began as an underground movement in Moscow, with Jewish scientists teaching themselves Hebrew and Jewish tradition. They set up the organization here after realizing that no one was focusing on teaching Jewish tradition to immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

Aryeh Dean Cohen

Thieves temporarily knock out Radio West

Radio West, the Jerusalem-based English-language radio station, was knocked off the air Saturday night by thieves who stole its transmission equipment.

According to Meir Alter, who runs the station, when staff arrived to prepare for Saturday night broadcasts, they found the transmitter had been stolen. Alter said he suspected his station was the victim of the same group of thieves which has stolen similar equipment from other Jerusalem-based stations. Alter said he believes they then sell the equipment to Arab broadcasters. He said broadcasts were scheduled to resume yesterday evening.

Aryeh Dean Cohen

Pollard appeal at High Court today Cabinet opposes import of non-kosher meat

By BAT-SHEVA TSUR

Convicted spy Jonathan Pollard yesterday expressed "outrage" at the state response to his petition to the High Court of Justice which is due to come up again today before the bench.



Pollard

The court heard the petition on October 29, in which Pollard asks to be recognized as an Israeli agent - and gave the government 60 days to try to resolve the issue out of court.

"Jonathan said that the state had skirted every issue raised in his petition," his second wife, Esther Zeitz-Pollard said yesterday, a few minutes after she spoke to him by telephone in prison.

In its response, the state says that Cabinet Secretary Danny Naveh will coordinate a ministerial committee's efforts to secure Pollard's release. Further ministerial visits to Pollard are planned, it adds.

"This is the third such committee that has been set up, and they are all smoke screens," Pollard told his wife yesterday.

Absorption Minister Yuli Edelstein and Communications Minister Limor Livnat visited Pollard over the past few months. Zeitz-Pollard said Finance Minister Yaakov Neuman had canceled plans to visit Pollard on February 6, without setting a new date.

The response to the petition adds that Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein has raised Pollard's case with his US counterpart Janet Reno. All these measures should be allowed to bear fruit and there was no further point in holding further hearings until then, the response said.

Zeitz-Pollard alleged however that she and her husband "have been totally ignored (by Israel). They are not even going through the motions."

She added that their attorney, Larry Dub, was recently asked by the government's attorney to drop the case. He was told the reason was "because there is a new committee." He refused, Zeitz-Pollard said.

Pollard is expected to be represented in court today by Baruch Ben-Yosef, Dub's partner. The proceedings are expected to be held behind closed doors.

"In the best case scenario, the Supreme Court will live up to its highest ideals and we will learn about [its] integrity. In the worst case, [it will] sacrifice the truth for political expediency," Pollard was quoted as saying in anticipation of today's session.

The court could issue a show-cause order, Zeitz-Pollard said. She added that if her husband was acknowledged as an Israeli agent, then "Israel must assume responsibility for Jonathan's immediate release."

But, she added, if the state does not admit that Pollard was an Israeli agent, it would imply he was falsely accused.

In that case, the state would have to help him clear his name, she maintained. "The state is in a bind," Zeitz-Pollard said.

By LIAT COLLINS

The government yesterday endorsed an amendment to the Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation which would in effect preserve the status quo banning the import of non-kosher meat by lifting the time limit on the so-called Meat Law.

A four-year limit, which is about to expire, was passed by the government of Yitzhak Rabin under pressure from haredi parties. The original amendment and time limit were passed to reconcile the Meat Law with the requirements of the Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation.

The amendment permits legislation which may conflict with the Basic Law to stand for four years. The new amendment, lifting the time limit, will have to be approved by the Knesset whereas an alteration to a Basic Law needs a majority of 61 votes.

Although Yisrael Ba'Aliya opposes it, the amendment is expected to muster the necessary majority. It is likely some Labor MKs will support it particularly since it was first legislated when they were in power. A Yisrael

Ba'aliya spokesman said the amendment passed by the government yesterday "empties the Basic Law of meaning."

Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi who presented the proposed amendment to the government wrote in explanation that it would "balance out the basic values of freedom of employment on the one hand and the fact that the state is a Jewish state on the other while

preserving the status quo which has existed in the field of meat imports since the establishment of the state."

Supreme Court President Aharon Barak said when the original clause was introduced that it would cause only limited damage to freedom of occupation because it would still be possible to import kosher meat without special licenses.

TA Council changes law to permit Shabbat movies

The Tel Aviv City Council yesterday amended a by-law to enable cinemas to open on Shabbat and holidays by a majority vote of 15-9.

The new law says a person will not open or allow another to open "a public house of entertainment" unless it is for an educational or cultural activity.

Until now Tel Aviv cinemas operated on weekends and holidays on the basis of status quo

agreements in the municipal coalition which enabled certain private businesses to stay open.

The amendment, which was initiated by Mayor Ronni Milo, was postponed several times due to Milo's reluctance to anger religious and haredi elements in his coalition.

Milo announced yesterday that most council members had signed an agreement to preserve the status quo in the city.

Michal Yudelman

Mekorot to cut pumping from Kinneret

By DAVID RUDGE

Mekorot yesterday decided to reduce the amount of pumping from the Kinneret into the National Water Carrier by more than half this month, primarily because of the lake's low level.

The regular monthly amount of 30 million cu.m. is to be cut to 14

million cu.m., the Mekorot spokeswoman said. She said this would enable maintenance work to be carried out on the National Water Carrier.

The work, however, would have been deferred if the level of the Kinneret had been higher. Instead, it is only 1.54 meters above the mark beyond which it is not

allowed to drop.

There has been less than average rainfall in the Kinneret catchment area so far this winter, and the water level has not risen as much as had been hoped. Nevertheless, Mekorot will still be transferring 4.5 million cu.m. from the lake to Jordan this month, in accordance with the terms of the peace treaty.

Golden Age Supplements

THE JERUSALEM POST will ONCE AGAIN publish the Golden Age Supplements that will appear in ISRAEL ON April 3rd, AND ABROAD ON MARCH 9th.

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Is Kenneth Starr overplaying his hand?

ANALYSIS

By DOYLE MCMAHON

WASHINGTON — On paper, independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr is preparing a case against William Jefferson Clinton, president of the United States, to submit to a panel of federal judges. But in reality, Starr's case against Clinton is already being judged in two very different "courts" — the House of Representatives and the public — and so far they don't much like what they see.

"Ken Starr might be a great prosecutor but in terms of being a political strategist he is the Helen Keller of American politics. He is deaf, dumb and blind," said Richard Galen, a Republican political consultant and adviser to House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga.

Through such actions as subpoenaing former White House intern Monica S. Lewinsky's mother and White House aide Sidney Blumenthal, Starr has made himself, instead of Clinton, the center of controversy.

Starr has inadvertently played into the hands of the White House, which has been working for months to portray the prosecutor as an unreliable, partisan zealot.

He has persuaded a majority of the public that he is "out to get Clinton whatever it takes, fair or unfair" — 53 percent agreed with this statement in a recent Harris poll — and that his investigation should be stopped — 59 percent agreed to this in a new Gallup poll.

And, most importantly, he has strengthened the consensus on the House Judiciary Committee —

which will receive his findings — that the country is nowhere near ready to consider removing Clinton from office over allegations that the president had an affair with Lewinsky and then conspired to cover it up.

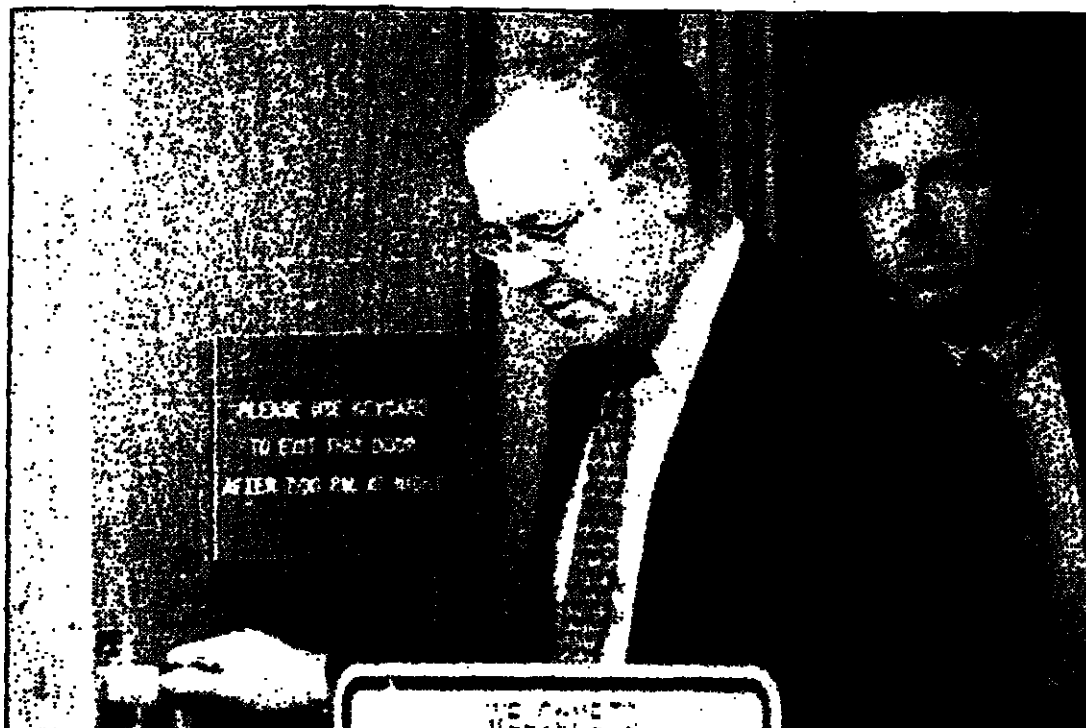
"There are a lot of folks in Washington who put their finger to the wind, and if they see that because of the White House's efforts some people don't like Ken Starr, they may take that into account in what they do," said Rep. Bob Barr, R-Ga., a member of the Judiciary Committee who has advocated Clinton's impeachment publicly.

Barr added that, for his part, Starr's relentless pursuit of Clinton "certainly doesn't bother me."

Rep. Henry J. Hyde, R-Ill., chairman of the Judiciary Committee, has said that he will consider impeaching Clinton only if there is significant Democratic support for such action. At the moment, however, Democrats are targeting Starr. Last Thursday, party members on the Judiciary Committee said that Starr is "using the grand jury to silence his critics," and asked Attorney General Janet Reno to rein him in.

At the White House, jubilation reigned. "This is entirely and completely Ken Starr's doing," said presidential counselor Paul Begala. "We didn't tell him to haul mothers before the grand jury to testify against their daughters, or attorneys to testify against their clients, or Secret Service agents to testify against the people they protect... It's astonishing."

Among Starr's friends, there was private dismay. "He has lost momentum," said a prominent conservative lawyer and longtime Starr supporter. "It's a cumulative



Through such calls as subpoenaing Monica Lewinsky's mother, independent counsel Starr has drawn to himself some of the fire that would otherwise have focused on Clinton. (AP)

thing. At the end of the line, the product you're going to be producing has got to have credibility... (with) the American people."

To be sure, Starr still has formidable strengths in his struggle with Clinton. His actions in subpoenaing Blumenthal, Lewinsky's mother and the others Begala referred to have all been within the law. There is no sign that Reno will curb his pursuit of more evidence against Clinton.

In the end, what matters most will still be the strength of the case he presents, as the indepen-

dent counsel law requires, to three judges of the US Court of Appeals and the House.

The fate of Starr's case "depends entirely on how it is presented," argued Rep. Bill McCollum, R-Fla., a senior member of the Judiciary Committee. "I suppose that (the White House) is playing to the public rather than playing to the legal side. But I don't think it will work."

Still, McCollum acknowledged, a decision by the committee on whether to seek Clinton's impeachment will not be a legal

judgment.

"It becomes, at that point, very political," he said.

That may be Starr's weak point: A tenacious and gifted practitioner of the law, he appears to have forgotten that prosecuting a president is ultimately a political battle.

"Starr is politically tone-deaf," said former Education Secretary William J. Bennett, a strong Clinton critic. "It's too bad, because everybody knows the central issue here should be the president." Starr was appointed in 1994 to investigate a series of

Arkansas real estate deals involving the Clintons — known as Whitewater. The transactions were financed by a federally insured savings and loan that failed at a cost to taxpayers of more than \$50 million.

Starr's investigation has expanded several times to incorporate new issues, including allegations that Clinton was involved in attempts to obstruct the original inquiry. Last month, Starr broadened his investigation to charges that Clinton may have encouraged Lewinsky to commit perjury by falsely denying that she had a sexual relationship with him.

Those allegations touched off a major political crisis. And as Starr grilled witnesses, including Lewinsky's mother and a series of White House aides, about alleged sexual misconduct, Clinton supporters hotly attacked the prosecutor.

Former Clinton political aide James Carville publicly derided Starr as "sex-crazed" and mocked the prosecutor's evangelical Christian piety, saying that he "listens to hymns, as the cleansing water of the Potomac goes by, and (says) we're going to wash all sodomites and fornicators out of town."

But what got under Starr's skin, the prosecutor's associates said, was not the bare-knuckled rhetoric but reports that Clinton aides were spreading nasty stories about his assistants.

Starr complained that his staff "has been subjected in recent weeks to an avalanche of lies" and sent a subpoena to Blumenthal, a White House official who has made a specialty of compiling evidence of the prosecutor's links to right-wing groups.

Starr's subpoena of Blumenthal

demanding that he surrender material about Lewinsky, the independent counsel's office and "all documents referring or relating to any contact directly or indirectly with members of the media."

That broad demand set off howls of protest from reporters — many of whom had not been strong supporters of Blumenthal before that moment — and gave Starr a self-inflicted black eye.

"That's breaking Rule 101 of common sense," said Rep. Christopher Shays, R-Conn. "The press is the only ally (Starr) has in this. If he gets the press to turn against him, he's got a big problem."

But Shays was thinking like a politician, not a prosecutor.

To the prosecutor, subpoenaing Blumenthal seemed logical enough.

Federal law makes it a crime for someone "by any threatening letter or communication to influence, intimidate or impede" a member of a grand jury or a prosecutor. Blumenthal was, Starr believed, spreading negative information in an apparent attempt to intimidate his assistants.

The longtime Starr supporter said that, in subpoenaing Blumenthal, the prosecutor and his staff "must have felt they legally had the right... but I don't think they realized that the adverse perceptions would outweigh the benefit. They should have done it in a more narrow, detailed way." "These prosecutors are making judgments that would be okay in a normal case. But these prosecutors don't have sound political judgment, and Ken is becoming so wrapped up (in the battle) that he doesn't see this himself," the supporter said.

(Los Angeles Times)

US decides not to press Suharto

The embattled Indonesian leader is expected to be re-appointed next week

By JIM MANN

WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration has decided to stick by Indonesian President Suharto rather than press for the aging leader to step down or make far-reaching political changes in his authoritarian regime, administration officials say.

Over the past month, the administration has grown increasingly worried about the deteriorating economic and political situation in Indonesia, which is the fourth most populous nation — after China, India and the United States — and is adjacent to some of the world's most important sea lanes.

With unemployment rising and the currency plummeting in Indonesia amid the region's economic crisis, one senior administration official said, "you have the potential for a really explosive mix."

Against a backdrop of riots and social unrest, Suharto, 76, is about to stage-manage another term as president. Despite growing calls for political reform, a special 11-day assembly that opened yesterday is virtually certain to name Suharto — Asia's longest-serving leader — to a seventh term.

Nevertheless, in a series of top-level meetings, the Clinton administration has rejected the idea of a "Manila scenario," in which Suharto might have been encouraged to yield to democratic forces, as was the late Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

One reason has been the fear that any such American effort might backfire and produce a wave of repression in Indonesia similar to the late 1980s crackdowns in China and Myanmar (formerly Burma), US officials say. Another factor is concern that Suharto's departure would produce a power vacuum with an unpredictable outcome.

One senior administration official said the highest priority for the United States in Indonesia now "is

stability, which is in a true sense a political matter.... If you start trying to pull the plug on Suharto now, the question is, what could happen?"

Weighing these factors, the administration has decided to support Suharto during the current crisis and delay any concerted effort to encourage a political liberalization in Indonesia, where Suharto's repressive regime has endured for more than three decades.

Some critics have been arguing that the administration, as part of its response to Indonesia's economic crisis, should push Suharto to loosen restrictions on dissent and to bring political opponents into his government.

"I'd be prepared to play a little more hardball," said Paul Wolfowitz, a former US ambassador to Indonesia. "The United States ought to position itself to some degree in the direction of evolutionary change. Somehow the message ought to get across [to Suharto] in a non-offensive way that the government ought to have a broader base."

Administration officials, however, have concluded that Suharto's political opponents are too weak and splintered to have much political impact.

"There's no unified opposition movement," one US official said. "There's an unprecedented amount of criticism [of the regime], but there's no organization to pull this together into some kind of movement."

Instead of pushing for political change now, administration officials are hoping for a more gradual

democratization in Indonesia over a decade-long period, as happened in Taiwan.

Over the past few weeks, the administration has been far more preoccupied with Indonesia than it has acknowledged. One administration official termed the situation "a crisis that no one knows is a crisis."

Senior members of the administration, including the foreign policy team and domestic advisers,

have gathered regularly in meetings chaired by White House Chief of Staff Erskine Bowles to keep track of unfolding developments in Indonesia. Suharto has long resisted following International Monetary Fund directives, which prompted Clinton to telephone the Indonesian

leader twice in the past three weeks and urge him to proceed with economic reforms. These phone calls lasted just 20 to 30 minutes, with translation, and Suharto gave long answers that limited the conversations, administration officials said.

As a result, the administration announced last Monday that Clinton is sending former vice president Walter Mondale to Jakarta as a special envoy with authority to deal directly with Suharto. Mondale was expected to arrive in Jakarta yesterday.

One reason for sending Mondale, rather than a cabinet member or other senior US official, is because of the apparent division within the Clinton administration in dealing with Suharto.

According to two government sources, American policy toward

Indonesia has been plagued by internal disagreements between the State and Treasury departments.

Treasury has been seeking to press Suharto to phase out subsidies, end monopolies — mainly held by his cronies — and take other steps toward economic reform. The State Department is said to be more worried that some of these changes — such as an end to subsidies for cooking oil, a basic foodstuff — could lead to greater political instability and thus undermine Suharto.

But administration officials deny the existence of such friction.

"There has not been serious disagreement between the State and Treasury departments on Indonesia," insisted one senior administration official, who, like others, did not want to be identified.

There has been little internal debate, however, about the political strategy of continuing to support Suharto. US officials point out that Indonesia has had only two changes of political power in its history.

The first was when the nation won its freedom from Dutch rule nearly five decades ago. The second was in 1965-66, when then-President Sukarno fell and was replaced by Suharto amid bloody upheavals that led to the killing of an estimated 300,000 Indonesians, including ethnic Chinese and those suspected of being communists or sympathizers.

Since then, Suharto has effectively suppressed political opposition.

The US approach was symbolized by its handling of Suharto's recent selection of his close friend B.J. Habibie as Indonesia's next vice president.

Habibie's record suggests that he would not favor liberalization of the Indonesian economy. Although the administration made clear its unhappiness with the choice, it did not challenge it.



Snowed out in northern England

Newcastle residents admire the snow yesterday after blizzards blanketed much of northern England and Scotland overnight. (AP)

Post-election India seen as gloomy

By CHAITANYA KALBAG

NEW DELHI (Reuters) — "Exit polls show hung House, hanged country" read an Indian newspaper headline yesterday.

Analysts were equally gloomy about the prospect of another spell of unstable coalition rule.

Political scientist Rajni Kothari noted the last time a single party won a decisive majority in a national election was in 1980, when Indira Gandhi secured a landslide for her Congress Party. "A hung parliament is something we'll have to live with," he said. "The picture is of instability and horse-trading."

A string of opinion polls published before the elections opened on February 16 predicted the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and its allies would win between 214 and 240 seats, short of the 272-seat majority in the 545-seat parliament.

Two television exit polls broad-

cast immediately after the fourth main phase of voting ended on Saturday predicted the BJP and its allies would win between 208 and 244 seats.

Counting of votes begins today and most results are expected to be in by tomorrow evening.

Kothari said both the BJP and Congress had had to woo regional groups in their bid for a winning combination, and predicted that lower-caste Hindu hardline leaders like Laloo Prasad Yadav in Bihar and Mulayam Singh Yadav in Uttar Pradesh would wield considerable clout in the jockeying for power.

"This is a transitional election," he said. "Rather than consolidate, the major parties' ground forces have been further split and decimated."

But the shine on a spirited campaign waged by Indira Gandhi's daughter-in-law Sonia had worn a bit thin, Kothari said. "Her major contribution was to put the

Congress house back in order."

The widow of former Congress prime minister Rajiv Gandhi logged more than 50,000 miles as she criss-crossed the vast nation by helicopter to speak at 141 election rallies between February 7 and 26, the *Times of India* said.

The BJP's prime ministerial candidate, Atal Behari Vajpayee, did not do badly, either. He logged 119 flying hours and travelled over 26,000 km. by road, the newspaper added.

Kothari said the BJP long considered a disciplined cadre-based party, had itself developed deep ideological rifts.

"Much will depend on Vajpayee's capacity to sideline hard-liners pushing the Hindutva (Hindu-ness) line," he said.

If Congress manages to cobble together a winning alliance with the United Front center-left coalition, Kothari said, the tables would be turned from the 1996 general election.

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The trouble with Harry

Movie Review

By Adina Hoffman

Woody Allen's latest comedy of mannerisms, *Deconstructing Harry*, flits back and forth between scenes from the "real" life of its nebbishy anti-hero, a depressive alcoholic and award-winning novelist played by the director himself, and those from the "make-believe" world of his fiction.

DECONSTRUCTING HARRY

★ ★

Written and directed by Woody Allen. Hebrew title: *Lefaruk al Harry*, 95 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Not recommended for children. With Woody Allen, Kirstie Alley, Billy Crystal, Judy Davis, Hazelle Goodman, Amy Irving, Julie Kavner, Julia Louis-Dreyfus, Demi Moore, Elisabeth Shue, Tobey Maguire, Robin Williams and others.

Much of the would-be self-deprecating humor here comes from the fact that the "real" people in Harry's life (his former wives and lovers, his sister) are livid at the way he has used and exposed them in his novels. "How could you be so insensitive?" they howl. "How could you be such a schmuck?"

The joke, it would seem, is meant to be on Allen himself, and the film a thinly veiled satire of his own public-private woes of late—though of course anyone savvy to Allen's carefully rendered *trompe l'oeil* technique knows to take with a major grain of salt the writer/director's apparent confession of his own weakness and incompetence-at-living. (Like Philip Roth's smug alter-ego, Nathan Zuckerman, Allen's Harry Block uses his art as an excuse to treat people like dirt.) In an odd and not especially endearing way, *Deconstructing Harry* manages, despite its introspective surface, to seem even more self-serving and narcissistic than Allen's other recent self-serving and narcissistic films. And what's worse, this particular movie comes with a helplessly little shrug attached, as if to say: I know I'm immature, egotistical and repetitive—but don't you find me cute?

Allen is still a talented, if predictable, joke writer, and for a while at least the film sneaks by with the help of these standard Jews-love-Chinese-food-styled quips and a freer, more loosely associative movement between sketches than the director has managed in his last few films. There are several passably amusing cameo appearances by, among others, Judy Davis, Billy Crystal, Julia Louis-Dreyfus, Kirstie Alley and Demi Moore.

(As in Allen's flat note of last year, the musical *Everyone Says I Love You*, most of the performances here are quickies by famous actors—a fact which lends the film an additional superficial edge.) In probably the funniest sequence in the film, Robin Williams appears as an actor named Melvin, a Zelig-like character in one of Harry's stories who



Woody Allen shows Robin Williams a thing or two about comedy.

is literally unfocused. His blurred inner state has somehow manifested itself in physical terms and he appears before us and his baffled family in fuzzy outline.

Some of these routines are mildly entertaining, but Allen hits the same, thin one over and over so many times that after a short while, even diehard fans are bound to grow weary of the film's frantic monotony. The director also adopts a peculiar editing technique, a kind of faux-Godardian jump-cut, which chops a single take into smaller, disconnected segments, and serves here mainly to emphasize the tic-like quality of

so much of the action.

Harry sits and talks to his shrink, for instance, and his words are repeatedly interrupted by a nervous cut (to his saying "ummm"), and another (to the start of a new, unrelated sentence, which is also abruptly stopped at midpoint). Although the ostensible reason for these jerky leaps seems to be to help Allen "deconstruct" Harry—to break him down into his constituent neuroses as a means of revealing his essence—the effect is actually the opposite. The cut becomes a means of avoidance, a clever way of dodging deeper thought or more extended engage-

ment with the character's real problems.

Not surprisingly, the whole film works in that same way: Harry isn't unpacked by the end, so much as justified—lionized, almost—in his glaring limitations. (As a reward he even gets to smooch with Elisabeth Shue.) Or perhaps the film is meant to be ironic and Woody is simply thumbing his nose at those who'd comb his work for hints of his literal biography and true nature...? One can't, obviously, begin to know where Woody stops and Harry starts, but one also doesn't have to care. The movie is a bore.

Top brass

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

It has been a good year so far," says Dan Yuhas. "I have nothing to complain about." And no wonder. Compositions by the Israeli composer/tuba player enjoyed a successful season in which several of his works were performed here and abroad. This weekend, two of his pieces will be presented during the Tempus Fugit Contemporary Music Festival, and next month the Arditi Quartet will perform his quartet in Israel and several other countries.

The composer, who plans to retire at the end of the season from his post as principal tuba player of the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra-IBA, says that playing the tuba was never meant to be his profession. "I started studying the piano and when I entered the music academy, which I did in tandem with attending regular high school, I studied piano and composition."

But then Yuhas decided that to write better for brass instruments, he should study one and he chose the tuba.

He has been playing with the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra-IBA for many years. "The orchestra plays a lot of Mozart and Haydn, who did not know the instrument at all. It is only with Brahms that the tuba becomes instrumental in orchestral music."

In Tempus Fugit, flutist Noam Buchman will perform a monologue for flute solo which Yuhas has written especially for him and is about to appear on a CD that Buchman is recording. And the Israeli Contemporary Players will

play the composer's *Entinies*, for 12 musicians.

The work, which premiered in 1985, has already been played by various chamber ensembles in Israel and abroad. "I wrote this opus thinking of a situation in which an individual who exists within a very noisy environment changes from extrovert to introvert, something about a man being within himself. Of course this was just the starting point. Then the work took off in other directions as well."

Yuhas founded the local contemporary music ensemble seven years ago because "very little contemporary music was being performed in Israel. We were very provincial at the time." But now, "we have a very good audience who enjoy our music a lot. I think by now we have given the Israeli premieres of all the important 20th-century works written for an ensemble of 10 to 12 musicians."

While Yuhas is pleased that his works are performed at the Tempus Fugit festival, he raises several questions regarding the structure of the event. "Everything that occurs, any concert that takes place, is good and important by virtue of the fact that it is taking place. But one can argue about the format and the right way to do it. Maybe quality does mean quantity but four, five concerts a day is a little too much. That said, it is much better to do than not to do."

The works of Dan Yuhas can be heard this weekend and within the Tempus Fugit festival currently at the Tel Aviv Museum.

'Titanic' soundtrack rules the waves

By RICHARD HARRINGTON

Like the movie, the soundtrack for *Titanic* has made it to No. 1 in the US charts, a rarity for a mostly orchestral score (the last one to achieve such success was the score for the 1981 film *Chariots of Fire*).

Sure, Celine Dion has a huge pop hit with "My Heart Will Go On" (Love Theme from *Titanic*), but it's also available on her new album—currently No. 2 on the charts.

Clearly, it's James Horner's evocative score that's caught the public ear, and deservedly so: It beautifully juxtaposes the film's romantic fable with its sense of inevitable tragedy. Like Horner's award-winning score for *Braveheart*, the soundtrack of *Titanic: Music from the Motion Picture* (Sony Classical/Sony

Music Soundtrax) is full of Celtic melancholy.

It opens with the ghostly "Never an Absolution," followed by the ethereal "Distant Memories." Both suggest the grace and grandeur of the sunken vessel and the immensity of its passengers' fated fates.

After some mundane boarding music comes "Rose," a tin-whistled Celtic air (later given lyrical body in Dion's track) that captures the immense beauty and late-blooming spirit of Kate Winslet's character.

The *Titanic*'s inexorable journey toward doom is presaged by the swelling strings and brass majesty of "Leaving Port." Grand adventure is anticipated in "Take Her to Sea, Mr. Murdoch" and, soon after, impending doom is palpable on "Hard to Starboard."

The large-scale consequences of a big boat meeting an iceberg are dramatically suggested in "The Sinking" and the expansive "Death of *Titanic*," while the ineffably sad "An Ocean of Memories" and "Hymn to the Sea" offer impressionistic epilogues.

Like director James Cameron, Horner knows how to scale down *The Titanic*'s larger body to very personal loss via the romance of Rose and Jack (Leonardo DiCaprio). While Jack never benefits from a distinguishable theme of his own, that relationship's tragic dimensions are movingly evoked in "Unable to Stay, Unwilling to Leave," "A Life So Changed" and Dion's understated ballad, a fragile remembrance of love wrenched away yet never ended. (AP)

Third TV channel due in November '99

By HELEN KAYE

In a vigorous push to get the wheels turning on the country's third TV channel, due to go into operation in November 1999, the Communications Ministry has published a Request for Information (RFI) which solicits information and feedback from the public to aid in the preparation of the legislation necessary to establish the channel in law.

"We believe that the professionals know as much as if not more than the government regarding the electronic media," said Broadcast Arrangements Authority head Zvi Hauser at yesterday's press conference.

Like Channel 2, the future Channel 3 will be general purpose, funded by advertising, and must be available on all carriers including cable and DBS (Direct Broadcast Satellite).

Within these parameters, the RFI is looking for answers to 10 questions including local production, the scope and type of supervision, economic data and projections, technologies and licensing.

The questions also address five proposed "niche" channels: music, news, Arabic language, Russian and Amharic, and traditional. The establishment of these channels has yet to be finally approved by the Economics Committee.

The supervisory structure of the new channel is of particular interest because the ministry is interested in deregulation where feasible, "because market forces are more effective than regulations," Hauser said. The RFI therefore also addresses the issues of regulatory bodies at the Second TV Laboratory Authority and the question of franchises versus a renew-



Communications Minister Limor Livnat

able license. The establishment of a second commercial channel was one of the recommendations of the Peled Commission Report on

Broadcasting adopted by the government last August. The target date coincides with the end of the first four-year franchises at Channel 2.

The RFI is part of a drive at the Communications Ministry to promote accessibility and transparency in every aspect of the "Open Skies" policies as recommended in the Peled Report.

"The opening up of TV to market forces can only benefit the economy," said Hauser, who sees the whole process as part of an irreversible trend.

In a related development, Communications Minister Limor Livnat is expected to decide within a few days whether DBS companies will be under franchise or licensed. DBS was passed under the terms of the Arrangements Law last month. It mandates the availability of a tiered pay-TV system in which the subscriber will be able to "lock out" unwanted channels such as those offering pornography. DBS offers from 50 to 500 channels.

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NEWS

of the muse

By HELEN KAYE

Itoh cancels visit; 'Hellcab' packs them in

Japanese dancer/choreographer Kim Itoh has postponed his concerts in Israel at the last moment because of uncertainty regarding possible attack by Iraq. The company has rescheduled to the beginning of April but dates have yet to be set.

In the same context, the cast of the Chicago production *Hellcab* kept their local dates as scheduled, saying that they had had a great time and scoffed at the very idea of canceling. "After Chicago, this is nothing," joked one of the actors. They played to packed houses in Tel Aviv over the weekend.

New genre of 'Isra-jazz'

Indefatigable and talented jazz couple Iris and Ofer Portugali launched their third album on Sunday. Called *Before You Said*, the CD features Iris on vocals and drums, with Ofer on keyboards. Iris also wrote a lot of the lyrics and some of the tunes, with Ofer providing the rest. He produced the disk which features material by Alon Olearchik, Chick Corea and the Armenian combo Night Ark as well. The Portugalis describe themselves as jazz musicians nurtured by Israeli culture. The reviews give them credit for creating a new genre in Israeli song.

Creative women come into their own

Woman '98—the Creative Women Festival celebrates the ladies at the Holon Theater from March 4 to 9. The varied program goes from poetry to cabaret, from movies to music and from the plastic arts to theater. Highlights include an evening with local comedienne Hanna Laszlo, Tiki Dayan, Anat Barzilai and others; *Sex after Midnight*, a "naughty" cabaret act; Rina Schenfeld's new dance, *Odemonia*; and Judith Ravitz and ensemble, as well as some serious talk about women in the year 2000. The climax will be a gala evening on March 8, which is International Women's Day. Actress Yona Elyan Keshet will host a talk show with such guests as dance pioneer Dvora Bertanov, who's 83, comedienne Orna Banai, and singer Gali Atari.

The Hungarians are coming to town

Get ready for From Hungary with Love, a variety show featuring folkdance by Donau, a 50-strong Hungarian Army troupe, Hungarian klezmer, songs and operetta with stars like Dunai Tamara, Marika Oswald, Laszlo Csere and Szusza Kalocsai. They'll tour the country from March 7-15 beginning with Tel Aviv's Mann Auditorium.

Israel Theater Prize slated for April 1

The 120 members of the Israel Theater Academy have made their choices in all 16 categories, and at the Noga Theater in Jaffa on April 1, Israel's theater community will salute its own. Actress Hanna Marron will receive a Life Achievement Award, and Creativity Prizes will go to playwright Hanoch Levin and actor/entertainer Yossi Banai, who was awarded the Israel Prize for theater last week. There's a lot of competition for that place at the top with 20 plays, 22 directors, 28 actors and 22 actresses competing in their respective categories. The final four in each of the 16 categories will be announced next week. The winners will receive the ITP statuette and nationwide exposure on Channel 1. Natan Dattner and Yona Elyan Keshet are the hosts of the event, which will be broadcast live.

Ring in Independence Day...

It's called Jubilee Bells and it's scheduled for Independence Day, April 30. The 100-minute display of dance, movement, music and song starts with a segment on the establishment of the state, and the final "chapter" looks to the future. The performers will come from here and abroad and reflect the diversity of the Israeli population. Bells producer Shuki Weiss has assembled some big guns to create and direct the several segments of the show.

They include director Micki Gurevitch, mime Hanoch Rosenne, choreographer Ohad Naharin, writers Dan Almagor and Haim Adisiss, musical directors Rafi Kadishohn, and Avner Hodorov. The show will be televised live and beamed to 40 countries via satellite.

...and singing its praises

This one is called *Avoda Ivrit* and it's due to hit record stores March 13. There are some 50 songs in the collection, which features today's singing stars in a salute to Israeli songs from 1948 to the present. The editors chose songs that celebrate the vitality of Hebrew song-making, hence the name, which means "Hebrew work" and is a play on words of the old Zionist slogan which glorified Jewish labor. The artists include practically everybody who's anybody from Yizhar Ashdot and Shlomo Arzi to the Zvuvim and Eran Zur.

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On safety, schools and God

The newly elected leadership of the National Religious Party is eager to demonstrate that, after the death of Ze'evulun Hammer, it has not become more extreme or parochial in its outlook and still deserves the support of the moderate Orthodox and secular voters who supported it in the last election.

A major key to winning public confidence lies in how fairly and effectively the NRP ministers manage two portfolios that are important despite their relative lack of prestige: Education and Transportation.

In the education ministry, Rabbi Yitzhak Levy will be measured at first by what he does not do, rather than by what he does.

Some fear that Levy will follow the unfortunately common norm of treating whatever ministry falls into one's lap as an ideological playground and a source of spoils for a particular political constituency.

Under Hammer, the ideological litmus test became which ideals would be promoted under the new rubric of "values education." Though the initial concept of values education was to foster democratic values in a society torn apart by the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, some were concerned that an NRP-led Education Ministry would piggyback on the concept to push religious values instead.

This was a somewhat sterile debate to begin with, because it assumes that Jewish values and democracy are in conflict. In fact, Israeli students should learn about both democracy and Judaism, whether they attend secular or religious schools.

How the sensitive subject of values education is handled by the new minister will itself be a lesson in democracy: In a democracy, the fact that a minister comes from one sector or another should not mean that the educational system is reworked in his image.

As a former yeshiva head and an elected politician, Levy is in a position to personally demonstrate the values that democracy and Judaism share, and prove that situations of potential conflict—real or imagined—can be resolved. He can show how, in a democracy, political leaders are expected to rise above their personal beliefs and experience, even as they draw from them to enrich society as a whole.

Another yardstick of Levy's tenure will be whether he succeeds in increasing the quality and diversity of the school system.

It often seems that quantity in this large-scale system is mistaken for quality, as if a bigger

education budget or a longer school day automatically result in better education. The debate over values is important, but ultimately an educational system must be judged by how it prepares our children for the next century, and not by whether it is a good surrogate parent. Levy's will be a success story if he concentrates on promoting excellence in all educational spheres, secular or religious.

As for the new transport minister, Shaul Yahalom, his success can be measured by something more quantifiable: the death rate on the roads.

The first question Yahalom should ask once settled in his new office is how can we halve fatalities and serious injuries on the roads over the next two years. If he keeps putting this question to the experts at his disposal, Yahalom will find plenty of answers—which would of course raise the question: Why was nothing done sooner?

Two areas cry out for immediate exploration, based on hard evidence in Israel and internationally: speed cameras and trucks.

In Netanya, a five-month experiment in 1996 produced dramatic results. A speed camera, combined with a policeman handing out immediate tickets to the offenders, resulted in deaths and serious injuries dropping from 15 to zero on just two major roads.

If a medical device had such a record, it would be hailed as a miracle cure and it would be unthinkable not to produce it in large quantities. Yet for reasons that Yahalom should investigate, the Netanya experiment was tossed into the "circular file" rather than replicated across the country.

Second, Yahalom should look into how other countries have reduced the danger from trucks.

Accidents involving trucks are disproportionate both in their number and in their severity. Trucks can be fitted with devices to limit their speed, regulators can limit heavy-vehicles' rush-hour and off-highway traffic, and employers can be fined for truck accidents, giving them an incentive to maintain their fleet and not to overwork drivers.

The transport minister should also inject greater urgency into addressing urban traffic congestion, improving the road network, and developing mass transit systems. But as Yahalom correctly put it, the problem of road safety deserves the highest priority. Some ministers may be more senior, but none have such a clear-cut opportunity to save hundreds of lives.

The media's role

YOSEF GOELL

On her Channel One media review program last week, Shelly Yechimovich asked co-moderator Razi Barka: "Are there no red lines anymore; didn't we cross them flagrantly this time?"

She was referring to the manner in which the media reported the recent biological warfare scare and the Mossad wire-tapping failure in Switzerland. Barka, who moderates a competing media review program on Channel Two, replied (and I paraphrase from memory): "If you're talking about demanding a sense of national responsibility from the media, that used to be the case a long time ago; but not today. In the age of ratings and ferocious competition, that's all over, and there's no way of turning the clock back."

The manner in which our two TV channels and the two "afternoon" tabloids—some of the other papers provided shining exceptions—intentionally and artificially insisted on reporting a wide-spread air of public panic which was not there was the height of media irresponsibility.

The main effect of the threat of biological and chemical warfare is psychological. The threat itself is real, albeit vastly exaggerated; and a few of us understandably reacted in panic. But most of us looked around for signals on how we should react.

For the media to whip up an atmosphere of panic, so that the vast majority who have not yet panicked are induced to do so, is to play into the hands of our avowed enemies. We should have learned a lesson from the way the same elements in our media exaggerated so bloodily in their reporting of the suicide bombings a few years ago but we didn't.

There is widespread agreement that the Mossad failure in Switzerland would not have had the regrettable impact it did and

would not have invited the sharp Swiss reaction were it not for the fact that the news was leaked to and reported so prominently in the Israeli media.

The source and motivation for that leak was the infighting in the Mossad and the determination to get rid of Mossad head Danny Yatom.

These are examples of a halloved principle gone wild, in the service of ratings and circulation. There are those who claim that if we had had this kind of irresponsible media in 1948 we would have lost the War of Independence. Maybe so. As much as I am critical of the present situation, I do not hanker to turn the clock back to a period in which the media were so slavishly "responsible" as to fail to perform their main function of informing an intelligent public.

WHEN I started working for *The Jerusalem Post* in the late 1950s, most of Israel's newspapers were still owned by political parties, and Kool Israel radio's editorial policy was minutely controlled from the Prime Minister's Office. The *Post* was officially non-party, but at the night desk we had clear instructions never to mention the name of the head of the Herut opposition in the Knesset, Menachem Begin, or to report his speeches.

This was slavish copying of the personal quirk of Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, who refused to acknowledge Begin's existence and when he had to, referred to him only as "the Knesset member sitting to the right of MK Dr. Yohanan Badar."

And yes, I recall a number of instances in which our editorials were dictated verbatim over the phone by Moshe Sharett, who although no longer foreign minister was still considered by his party, Mapai, to be Israel's leading spokesman to the English-reading world.

Dry Bones



Sharett was also accorded the right to edit the reports of his own speeches in the Knesset.

The situation at the *Post* was golden compared to the Hebrew press.

The height of this era of "super-patriotic" media irresponsibility came in 1973 with the media's failure to report what many knew of the signs of the impending Yom Kippur War, which our political and military leaders refused to see. The trauma of that war led the media to career in recent decades to the opposite extremes of irresponsibility, in the name of untrammeled competition for circulation and ratings.

The "good old days" were never that good and are nothing to hanker for. But I disagree with

Barka's that nothing can be done. What must be done is to establish a new balance between the undesirable extremes of a slavish Pravda-like media, and a blatantly irresponsible one. It will not be easy to establish such a balance and to have it accepted and followed by the mainline media, but it is not an impossible task.

If the media, through their own bodies such as the hitherto ineffective Press Council, continue to shirk that task, there is a real danger that political bodies which see themselves as the victims of the media will seek to do it, to the detriment of both the media and the public.

The writer comments on current affairs.

Peace is a mirage...

EFRAIM INBAR

advanced weapons sales and transfers of sensitive technologies to Mideastern countries, as well as support for regimes opposing a Pax Americana in the region. Russia will obviously be reluctant to support an American-sponsored Arab-Israeli peace process.

The return of a Russian presence will undoubtedly affect the Middle

Washington, that his country will consider allowing Israeli airplanes to operate from Turkish airspace in a punitive mode against Iraq, is a clear indication of the stabilizing potential of this relationship.

ANOTHER probable long-range development resulting from a resurgence of Russian power

... but a balance of power is the right prism for assessing what Israel can achieve by force and/or diplomacy in our rough neighborhood

East balance of power. The radical powers—Syria, Palestine, Libya and Iraq—are already welcoming the Muscovites. They will capitalize on Russia's interest to expand its influence to further their own revisionist goals.

Russia's growing presence will strengthen the Israeli-Turkish alliance, as neither country has ever been very fond of Soviet encroachment in the past. The strategic partnership between Ankara and Jerusalem, the most important development in regional politics since Sadat's 1977 visit to Jerusalem, will increasingly constitute a deterrent against aggression emanating from the radical states of the region. This is a common Israeli-Turkish interest.

The recent statement by the Turkish ambassador in

relates to Iran. Though the present regime in Iran uses Russia's desire to cast a shadow in the Middle East in order to enhance its own military reach, the expansion of Russian influence might reinforce a realignment in Iranian foreign policy.

Eventually, revolutionary Iran will grow up. All revolutionaries mature sooner or later. Even the fiery Castro joined the Pope in a Catholic mass recently. The Muslims may be less inclined to ecumenism, but Iran has recently made friendly noises toward America.

Geopolitics and history also dictate a change in Iranian policies. Iran has always feared the imperial Russian neighbor and, in the past, during the Great Game of Asia, it sided with Russian competitors. Today it tries to curb the

return of Russian influence to Central Asia and cooperates in this endeavor with Turkey. A recurrent Russian military presence on the Iranian border may leave Iran little choice but to look for an extra-regional ally—the United States.

We should not forget that the historical enmity between Persia and the Arab world. Indeed, most of the Arabs supported Saddam-led Iraq in the long war (1980-88) against Iran. We may even see a detente in Iranian-Israeli relations.

The return of the Russians will also facilitate the continuation of the old inter-Arab competition over regional dominance and national security. The emergence of a new global power adds new possibilities to the potential alliances available to regional actors. The leaders in the region are usually very astute in playing this kind of power game. This is how they survived for so long.

Israel's improved international status in the region allows it to participate in this game, too. It is necessary, however, to adopt a correct conceptual framework in order to analyze and understand the emerging realities and the policy options. Regional comprehensive peace is a mirage, while a balance of power is the right prism for assessing what Israel can achieve by force and/or diplomacy in our rough neighborhood.

The writer is associate professor of political studies at Bar-Ilan University and director of its Begin-Sadat (BESA) Center for Strategic Studies.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ERETZ YISRAEL

Sir, — In his letter "Interpretations of history" (Feb. 15) Paul Scham wrote about a poster entitled "Palestine (Eretz-Israel), Whose Homeland?" which was exhibited in the Hebrew University and in the Jimmy Carter Center in Georgia.

This poster, he says, supports the historical truism (sic) that Eretz Israel "was called Palestine for much of this and preceding centuries" and that "as a result of Israel winning the War of Independence... many Palestinian Arabs became refugees."

Scham also warns against "entering the realm of political fantasy" and "leaving historical reality."

It is perfectly reasonable and correct to talk about the Palestinian Arab refugees and emphasize that "Palestine" and "Eretz Yisrael" are synonymous. However, it is important to differentiate Palestine from modern-day Israel and the "new historians" are not willing to give us the facts on this.

The facts are these. The land of Palestine was given to the British in trust by the League of Nations

in the 1920's, for the express purpose of establishing a National Home for the Jewish people. The British, out of concern for the Palestinian Arab population, unilaterally gave about 77 percent of the area of Palestine to the Arab people of Palestine. This portion of Palestine was called Transjordan in the 1920s and is now referred to as Jordan. This area was immediately made off-limits to Jewish settlement.

The remaining 23 percent (less than one-quarter) of Palestine is what we are still struggling to retain. This small portion of Palestine includes not only the entire State of Israel, but also the Golan Heights, Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

The Arab position is that Eretz Yisrael's Arabs are without question entitled to 77 percent of Palestine but that Eretz Yisrael's Jews are not entitled to the remaining 23 percent of Palestine.

SUSIE DYM

Rehovot.

WRONG DIAGNOSIS

Sir, — With great shock, I read the heading and lead paragraph of Gerald Steinberg's "US schizophrenia" (Feb. 13).

It is many years since mental health experts have considered the schizophrenia sufferer as one plagued with dual or multiple personality, as Steinberg uses the term.

Today the sufferer is considered one with a neuro-biological illness characterized mainly by delusions and hallucinations. It affects some one per cent of the population; and the stricken are no more prone to

violence than is the general population.

The disease can be controlled with drug use.

If the US Administration is indeed suffering from schizophrenia in its foreign policy planning, then it might consider using the drug clozapine.

CHAIM LANGER,
Enosh English Speakers,
Parent Support Group

Jerusalem.

ECONOMIC AIDS

Sir, — Kudos to Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman for committing themselves to ending US economic aid for Israel ("Neeman's economic independence plan welcomed by US State Department," Jan. 30).

US "economic aid" is really Economic Aids that has thwarted Israel's transformation from small time Stalinist shield *sheppeocracy* into the Jewish equivalent of an Anglo-Celtic capitalist Protestant democracy.

US Economic Aids crippled the country by subsidizing the *sheppeocracy*, due to whom those with "get-up-and-go" got up and went, like the expatriate Israeli businessmen I met in New York who told me that they came to America because they could not build their dreams in Israel.

Unlike its Economic Aids, the United States should continue financial aid for the IDF.

ARYEH GALLIN,
President Root & Branch
Association, Ltd.

Jerusalem.

DISTORTED BELIEF

Sir, — Your editorial "Irrelevant rabbinat" (Feb. 11) correctly notes that "the Rabbinate... represents not only the Orthodox, but all Israeli Jews." This does not mean that it has to give legitimacy to every distorted religious belief these same Jews embrace.

DR. L. BLASS

Jerusalem.

FROM OUR ARCHIVES

65 years ago: On March 2, 1933. The *Palestine Post* reported that the German Nazi dictatorship had abolished freedom of speech and assembly in the country.

50 years ago: On March 2, 1948. The *Palestine Post* reported that the casualty toll in Palestine

from November 30 to February 29 totaled 1,378 dead and 3,086 injured. The killed included 546 Jews, 666 Arabs, 74 soldiers, 29 supernumerary policemen, 18 British police, 4 Jewish police and others. The injured included 565 Jews, 454 Arabs, 96 soldiers, 19 British police and others.

25 years ago: On March 2, 1973. The *Jerusalem Post* reported from the White House that President Nixon had reassured Prime Minister Golda Meir of continued US economic aid and military support.

Alexander Zvielli

Handwritten signature: *Yehoshua*

The World

The Front-Runner in India Is Deep Doubt

By JOHN F. BURNS

NOT long ago, a villager outside New Delhi faced an unusual quandary. As voting day approached, the man was exploring freedoms denied him for years as a bonded laborer in a stone quarry outside the city. Like millions of other Indians in a similar plight, he had been a slave in all but name, working to defray debts his father had accumulated with the quarry owner.

Released from bondage by the police, the villager had been encouraged to exercise a newly-realized right — to cast a vote, and play his part in appointing, or dismissing, the Government. But like at least half of all Indian voters, he was illiterate, and he was frightened. Other villagers had told him, he said, that he would have to thrust his hand into an opening atop a wooden box, pause, then withdraw it quickly. "It's the bicchu that scares me," he said, using a Hindi word for scorpion. "If I have been good, the bicchu will not harm me. But if I have been bad, the bicchu will bite."

As India awaits the results of its 12th general election, possibly by Tuesday, its democratic system, with all its idiosyncrasies, is facing its closest scrutiny in years. The campaign that ended with a final day of voting on Saturday produced a dominant personality, Italian-born Sonia Gandhi, and a compelling issue, whether the nation's voters will turn to the Hindu nationalists of the Bharatiya Janata Party, or embracing the charismatic Mrs. Gandhi, renew their fraying loyalties to the Congress Party.

Democracy vs. Demagoguery

But behind the electoral clamor, Indians have been mulling over an issue that has been debated for more than 100 years, at least from the time when the Congress Party was founded to demand political rights. The question then was not so different from one still posed today: how to keep democracy from degenerating into demagoguery, or worse, in a country with profound fissures between rich and poor, educated and illiterate, Hindu and Muslim, to cite only the most obvious divides.

It has long been India's pride to call itself "the world's largest democracy." In the year when this country of 880 million is celebrating the 50th anniversary of its independence, only curmudgeons could doubt that upholding its parliamentary system has been a signal achievement, albeit set against a long chronicle of governmental failure to deal effectively with poverty, illiteracy and other social problems.

For anyone who doubts this, it should be enough to consider China, where millions languish in labor camps, dissidents are persecuted, imprisoned or driven into exile, and the so-called parliament is little but a rubber-stamp for the Communist elite. Against China's example, few nations could illustrate better than India what Winston Churchill meant when he said that democracy was a lamentable form of government until you considered all the others.

To live in India, especially after lengthy sojourns in China and the Soviet Union, is to experience what the democratic spirit means. At each day's breakfast table, a thick pile of English-language newspapers brings a feast of news and views on every conceivable aspect of the nation's life, much of it presented in the disputatious manner that seems to be the Indian birthright; and these are only a fraction of the nation's 25,000 newspapers and journals, most of them in Hindi and other vernacular languages.

To attend a news conference with the country's Prime Minister and hear an Indian voice demanding to know, "Please tell us, sir, why are you lying?" is to know that totalitarianism would find no fertile ground here. One who forgot that lesson was Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Sonia Gandhi's mother-in-law, who declared emergency rule in 1975 in an effort to void a court order disqualifying her from Parliament. She arrested thousands thought likely to oppose her, only to be roundly trounced in an election 20 months later.

But Indian democracy has its dark side, too. Churchill, whose antagonism for India and Indians knew few bounds, predicted that independence would mean handing the country over to "rogues, rascals and freebooters." Some Indians think he may not have been so wrong, at least as far as the worst of today's politicians are concerned. Among nearly 5,000 candidates in the current election, hundreds are gangsters and criminals, men and women awaiting trial or already convicted but free on bail for crimes like murder, kidnapping and blackmail.

Accountability Lost

Campaign violence since voting began two weeks ago has claimed at least 150 lives, nearly 70 in a series of bomb explosions in Bombay and the southern city of Coimbatore, others in the general mayhem that accompanies voting in the most violent states, especially Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Assam.

Even more widespread was the practice of fixing votes. In recent days, Indian papers have been filled with accounts of low-caste voters who have been ordered by rural landowners to vote for high-caste candidates, on penalty of losing their jobs as farmhands, or even being killed. In other cases, Indian reporters have noted village after village, and town after town, where political thugs took over polling stations, stuffed ballot boxes, then declared the polling stations closed.

Amid all this, accountability in politics seems somehow to get lost. One recent study showed that in the history of Indian elections since independence, fewer than a quarter of all representatives have ever won consecutive elections. But more remarkable still, the rolls of electoral triumph are filled with politicians whose reputations had been destroyed by allegations of graft and malfeasance but who came roaring back after waiting in the wings for a year or two.

But even they will have to take a back seat to Sonia Gandhi, India's best-known female politician, if Mrs. Gandhi's barnstorming election campaign succeeds in keeping the Hindu nationalists from power. There are many Indians who admire Mrs. Gandhi for her personal bravery who also think it demeans India to have an Italian-born woman, albeit one who has inherited the mantle of the Nehrus and the Gandhis, as a credible candidate to be the country's next Prime Minister.

One critic is Swami Agnivesh, a human rights advocate who has long worked to expose political corruption. He believes that the solution to many of India's ills lies in a return to the philosophy of Mohandas K. Gandhi, the independence leader (no relation to the family into which Mrs. Gandhi married) who preached a gospel of honesty and self-denial that finds few takers in politics today.

But where Mrs. Gandhi is concerned, Mr. Agnivesh believes that it is another Gandhian principle, self-reliance, that has been abandoned by those who want Mrs. Gandhi installed in high office. "I'm sorry to have to say it," he said, "but in the end, you have to see Sonia as just another factor vitiating our politics. The fact that a lady who knows so little about our country and its heritage can be only a few steps away from becoming our Prime Minister, that I find very distressing."



Glimpses of a boisterous democracy: Men at one of New Delhi's thousands of food-vending stands, where current events are commonly hashed over.



Cows and other animals vie with motor scooters and bicycles on the capital's crowded streets.



In Jaipur, in northwest India, Muslim children who do not attend school spend much of their time in the streets.

Photographs by EDWARD KEATINGE/The New York Times

1550

The World

America, the Lone Wolf With a Following

By STEVEN ERLANGER

Americans watching the military and diplomatic drama in Iraq might easily wonder why Washington seems to bear every burden and get so little gratitude or support, even from the countries most threatened by Saddam Hussein.

With the sharp exception of Britain, a loyal ally that has learned the art of leading from behind, America has seemed a most unappreciated global policeman, pressing a crusade that other countries found excessive.

The French seemed willing to play along with a military buildup to make a diplomatic retreat palatable to Mr. Hussein, but they had no intention of participating in anything so violent as an air war. The Russians, with whom America should be having a honeymoon in Boris Yeltsin's second term, loudly opposed any use of force, whatever the rationale, while siding up to their once and future commercial partners, the Iraqis.

Even Washington's Muslim allies, from the Saudis to the Turks, made their edginess about air strikes clear, especially when the raids were bound to kill ordinary Iraqis while not eliminating Mr. Hussein or his weapons.

The solution worked out through the agency of the United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan, produced an Iraqi retreat that left the United States and its allies looking more united than they are. But that will remain true only if Saddam Hussein keeps his end of the bargain, which few in Washington really expect.

At the heart of this rather sorry spectacle, with the Anglo-Americans in one corner and most of the rest of the world either taking a free ride or talking smarmily about "Wag the Dog," are sharp differences in interests, and in history.

Who's a Demon?

The United States sees Mr. Hussein as uniquely evil, a "Hitler" who threatens world peace and oil routes through his pursuit of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. Even if Washington won't invade, it will work to weaken him, and can't imagine lifting sanctions on Iraq so long as he rules.

But America's allies see Mr. Hussein as bad, certainly, but not demonic — already weakened by defeat in the Gulf war, by restrictions imposed on much of his territory, and by the United Nations weapons-inspection regime. Whatever its failings, they argue, inspection is still a more efficient tool than bombing to control a chemical and biological arms program that is portable, easily reconstituted and lives largely in scientific minds.

Saddam Hussein is a reality, they argue, and he need not be expunged. He can be contained, and also engaged, politically and commercially. The Americans should stop trying to transform the world, and understand that it may be enough to manage it.

The tribes of Europe and the Middle East have long experience at neutralizing the nasty people next door, if

only because none of them has ever been powerful enough to order their own neighborhood as they would like. Napoleon, Hitler, Nasser all tried, and all failed.

Americans, however, have been supreme in their hemisphere, and they're not into maintenance. When they venture overseas, they want to solve grand problems once and for all — problems that can usually be traced to the masters of local subtleties, who find themselves needing the aid of the bumbling giant beyond the oceans.

It may be easy enough for Americans to write off weary old-world wisdom as cynical, and like the Senate Majority Leader, Trent Lott, to disregard the world's opinion and to press Washington to act on its own.

But what, in the end, is the nature of this solitude? American internationalists consider it the lonely burden of global leadership; skeptics call it the arrogance that led America into Vietnam.

For Mr. Lott and other conservative Republicans, allies don't seem to matter much, and the use of Mr. Annan in Baghdad was a stroke of weakness, not tactics. "The Secretary General is calling the shots," Mr. Lott said. "The United States is not."

For its part, the Administration portrays Mr. Annan, whom it helped install, as nothing more than a messenger for American interests, as if he went to Baghdad representing Washington alone, and not the Security Council.

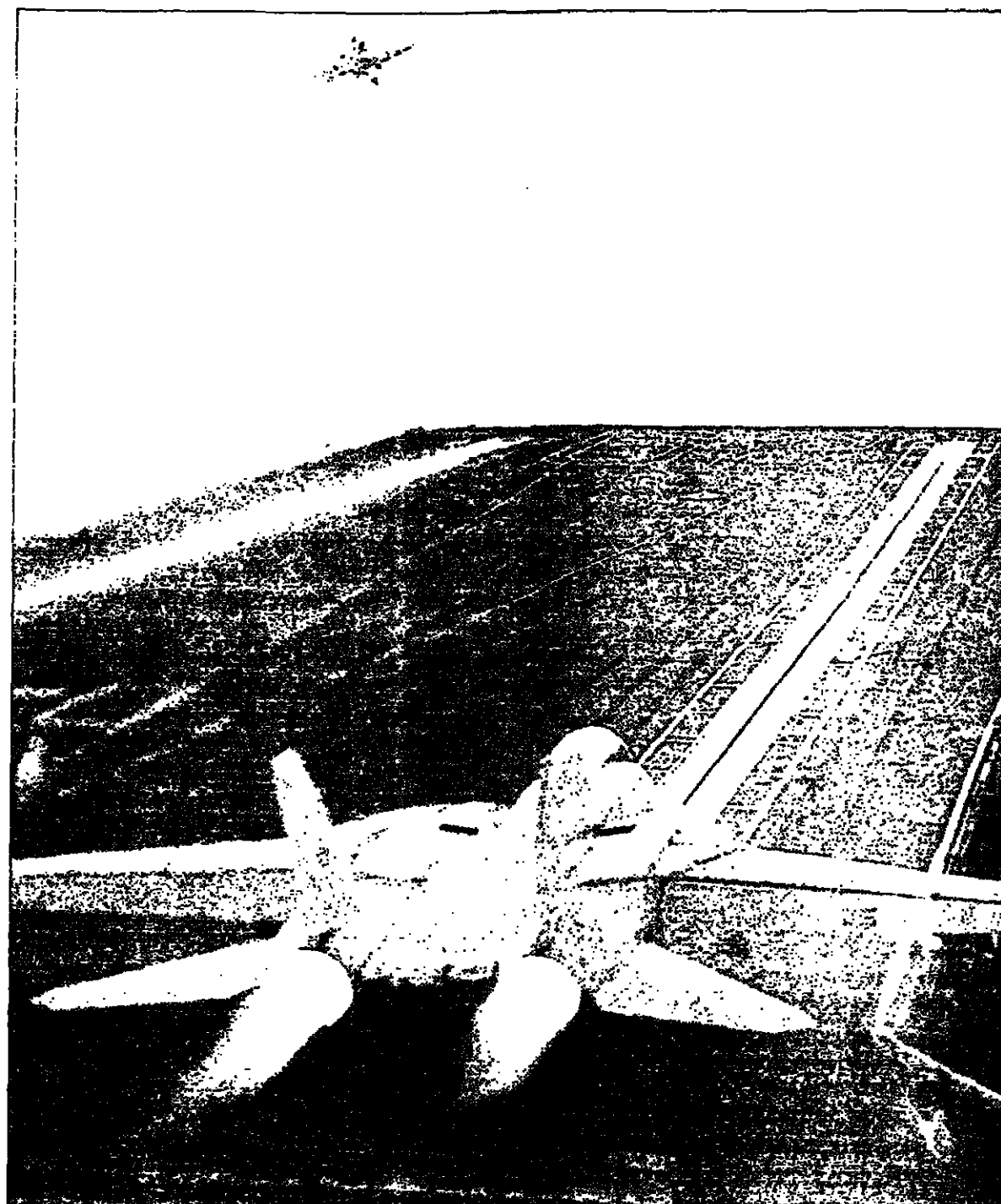
Both sides, of course, are playing politics and being economical with the truth. But taken together with what happened at the now infamous town hall meeting in Columbus, Ohio, Mr. Lott's comments display the difficulty of the American role in the post-Soviet world, and the ambiguous feelings Americans have about it.

Listen, for example, to Mr. Clinton's national security adviser, Samuel R. Berger, on Iraq: "We have a strong tradition of non-engagement and self-reliance in the world, yet here we are in a position where other countries look to us to lead. But if we lead with too heavy a hand, they resent it." He rejected the idea that acting in America's interests means having to act alone. "Iraq is an example of acting multilaterally, but with the U.S. being way out front," he said.

Another senior American official said: "The United States has to be prepared to act to defend national interests, as we will, if necessary, on Iraq. But we are stronger and more effective with an international consensus."

In the Middle East of 1996, though, there is a special difficulty. In 1990 and 1991, Iraq's desperate neighbors accepted American intervention because President Bush seemed to promise a solution to their Hussein problem. But now even senior American officials will acknowledge that their policy of isolating both Iraq and Iran is falling apart. Arab countries are normalizing relations with both, the European Union is normalizing with Iran, and even Baghdad and Teheran are talking.

And while Administration officials are no longer allowed to say so in public, some will say in private that one big reason for Arab disillusionment with Washington is American failure to deliver on the promise that the entire Middle East atmosphere would be transformed



An F-14 ready to be catapulted from the American aircraft carrier Independence for patrol over southern Iraq.

after the 1991 war — not just in Baghdad, but in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, whose tensions still radiate, gnawing at the stability of conservative Arab regimes.

James A. Baker 3d, who was then the Secretary of State, explicitly linked the two issues in House testimony in September of 1990, a month after Iraq invaded Kuwait. Given Palestinian support for Iraq at the time, Mr. Baker was asked if Washington should "give up on the peace process."

An Unredeemed Bargain

"One of the most telling arguments that Saddam Hussein makes, is that he's the champion of the downtrodden Arab," Mr. Baker said. "He's the champion of Palestinians who have no place to go and who are sorely

put upon. And that is why I think it is important that we keep our eye as well on moving that ball towards some resolution of that problem — because when we do, the ground will not be as fertile as today."

That was the implicit bargain that drew the Arabs to the American coalition against Mr. Hussein. Washington's inability to secure a Palestinian-Israeli peace has been a source of deep disappointment, while aiding Iraq's new semi-acceptability. "The world has changed," Iraq's Deputy Foreign Minister, Riad Qaissi, said Wednesday. "We are part of the world."

American officials seem to be listening. With the Iraq crisis losing steam, one senior official said last week, it is time to get back to the central issue of America's Middle East policy — the lagging effort to produce an Arab-Israeli peace.

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A Pot of Gold And Ennui

Continued From Page 9

as they do for continued endeavor.

Donald Trump undoubtedly feels a less heady charge today than he once did watching the rise of a building with his name emblazoned on it, but there is no limit to the number of monuments he can erect, the height they can scale or the amount of wealth they can bring him.

Goals that coexist with other ones — the careful tending of a relationship or family, the refinement of a mind — are also kinder. After achieving one of them, a person can simply shift his or her focus rather than start over.

Markers on the Road

And goals that are less unforgivingly specific and single-minded than a gold medal or a Supreme Court appointment or a Nobel Prize diminish not only the odds of failure but the possibility of confusion and apoplexy upon success, because they are part of a process, markers on the shoulder of a long, winding road.

For example, Eric Marcus, the co-author of Mr. Louganis's autobiography, "Breaking the Surface" (Random House, 1995), said he experienced no letdown or pang of worry after it reached the pinnacle of the nonfiction best seller list. The reason, in part, was that the real objective of his efforts was the economic and creative freedom to do the work he wanted, and there was no finite end to such an ambition.

"A number-one best seller wasn't the organizing principle of my life," Mr. Marcus said. "My life isn't focused on a single thing. If it is, you're destined to massive disappointment. If you don't achieve it, what else is there? And if you do achieve it, what else is there?"

"That's why I can hardly watch the Olympics," he added. "You heard Tara Lipinski say 'I want to soak up every moment.' Smart kid. But how will she learn to integrate this and go on?"

She may decide that the truest, most glorious distinction lies in repeating as a medal winner and, like not only Mr. Louganis but also the fellow figure skater Katarina Witt, hunker down to another four years of grueling work, delaying the second act of her life.

Or she may set her sights on something else altogether, like the figure skater Debi Thomas, who took bronze to Ms. Witt's gold in 1998 and then went on to earn a medical degree, rechanneling the discipline and drive she had honed on the ice.

Getting a Life

But one thing is virtually certain: Miss Lipinski cannot skate on her current distinction forever, because it is continued hoping and continued striving that propel a person through life.

"We need that sense of purpose," said Steve Danish, director of the Life Skills Center at Virginia Commonwealth University. "A person without a goal is like a computer without a program. And that's an ugly piece of furniture."

The World

In Drug War, America Barks but Fear of Bite Fades

By TIM GOLDEN

THE driver was late, the aide had the directions all wrong, and as Colombia's Ambassador rode up Capitol Hill the other day to defend his country's drug-fighting record before one more skeptical audience, his only armor was two copies of a thin, boring-looking Government report. For the emissary of a country whose drug-enforcement efforts had failed the United States' certification test two years in a row, the Ambassador, Juan Carlos Esguerra, was looking remarkably unperturbed.

"When we didn't know what it would mean to be decertified, we were terribly worried that it would have catastrophic effects," Mr. Esguerra said, recalling the all-out lobbying campaigns that Colombia waged in past years in vain attempts to avoid the Clinton Administration's censure. "Once you know the impact, you know you can handle it."

The 12-year-old Federal law requires that, by the end of every February, the White House publicly evaluate the drug-control efforts of countries that produce or ship the cocaine, heroin, marijuana and methamphetamines that are consumed in the United States. And each year by the beginning of March, critics attack the process known as drug certification, mostly because of the anger and irritation it produces in American relations abroad.

Superficial Irritation

Lately, though, the irritation has appeared to be mostly skin deep. For countries like Mexico — which was fully certified again on Thursday despite a confidential assessment by the United States Drug Enforcement Administration that was stingingly pessimistic — it has become clear, officials say privately, that considerations like trade will outweigh dissatisfactions over the drug issue. Similarly, the practice of recent years has shown nations like Pakistan and Lebanon that even if they are denied certification, their strategic importance to the United States is such that they can expect the White House to waive the penalties in the national interest.

Under the 1986 statute, the penalties include a mandatory halt to some American foreign aid, a requirement that the United States vote against their applications for multilateral development bank loans, and the possibility

of trade and economic sanctions. But when the law was written, both the cold-war power of the United States and the promise of such sanctions had a fresher smell.

Last year, as the Administration and Congress wrestled with the question of whether to decertify Colombia for the second year in a row, the Government of President Ernesto Samper dispatched its police chief and half a dozen cabinet members to lobby in Washington. The issue was Mr. Samper himself, and the \$6.1 million that American officials say he took as a campaign contribution from cocaine traffickers. But his Government nonetheless took out full-page advertisements in American newspapers to describe the sacrifices that Colombia's people had made, the blood that its soldiers and police had spilled. Brightly colored booklets detailing the country's anti-drug achievements inundated Congress.

Taking a New Tack

This winter, the strategy changed. "No publicity. No advertising. Absolutely none," Mr. Esguerra said. "The certification issue has become less important." (Last week, in a gesture that American officials did not take seriously, Mr. Samper offered to resign a few months early if it would improve Colombia's relationship with the United States.)

At a Senate subcommittee hearing about certification Thursday, Senator Joseph Biden, the Maryland Democrat, spoke up for the process. It remains, he said, "an effort to prod other governments into action — actions they would not otherwise take."

But in the past, American officials have been able to count on at least some flurries of police activity abroad as the judgment day nears: drug traffickers arrested, drug crops eradicated, drug shipments seized. Recent years have seen less and less of that kind of push.

More significant than the end of Colombia's lobbying are the issues on which it flatly ignored American appeals — and threats of further decertification. In November, the Samper Government allowed the legislature it controls to reinstate its extradition treaty with the United States with the proviso that it would not apply retroactively — and thus to the powerful Cali Cartel bosses who are serving relatively short prison sentences in Colombia but are wanted by American courts.

The frustration of American law-enforcement officials with Mexico has been harder for some in Washington to interpret: Last year, the Government of President Ernesto Zedillo has overhauled its anti-drug force, ar-



A Mexican peasant harvests opium paste from a poppy for processing into morphine and heroin.

rested some military and civilian officials on corruption charges and taken small but potentially important steps toward extraditing Mexican drug criminals to the United States. But at what is typically the busiest time of the law-enforcement year, American agents were reporting to their headquarters that the "new" Mexican police units were making no discernable effort to arrest the most important traffickers.

In Pakistan, the Government has steadfastly ignored American pleas for the release of a Pakistani employee of the Drug Enforcement Administration who is serving a five-year sentence at hard labor for helping American law-enforcement agents with an undercover operation that led to the jailing of two Pakistani air force officers on charges of heroin trafficking. The drug-enforcement aide, Ayyaz Baluch, was found guilty of "seducing" the officers to commit a crime. Pakistan's Ambassador to the

United States, Riaz Khokhar, dismissed what he said had been open threats of decertification over the matter. "We have lived with certain sanctions in the past," he said in an interview. "Frankly, it won't bother us."

Some American officials blame the toothlessness of decertification on the limits of the law. Colombian officials, for their part, noted that they have been authorized to receive more anti-drug aid since being decertified. In Washington, support is rising for a multilateral approach to setting drug-enforcement standards. But even if American legislators have an alternative, they may still have a problem. "If you favor repeal of the certification statute, then you look like you're weak on drugs," said Lee H. Hamilton, the Indiana Democrat who is the ranking minority member on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. "And that's still an uncomfortable position for a politician to be in."

Good Deficit, Bad Deficit

The Fear Is Gone, Not the Danger

By PETER PASSSELL

YOU'VE heard it before and you'll hear it again: Trade deficits are bad. So the 24 percent jump in America's deficit, to a whopping \$10.8 billion in December, and the near-certainty of further increases this year add up to trouble for an otherwise blessed economy.

Or maybe not. While it's tempting to discount the White House's Pollyanna-ish assessment — Janet Yellen, the President's economic adviser noted that it represented only "a modest increase" in light of rapid growth — establishment opinion on the new trade figures also ranges from resigned to indifferent.

Bludgeoning Reagan

"The trade deficit is only an indirect indicator" of the economy's health, said Laura Tyson, the former Clinton aide who now teaches at the University of California at Berkeley. In the 1980's, the trade deficit was used to bludgeon President Reagan for his "What? Me worry?" policies. This time around, Ms. Tyson said, "it's consistent with all sorts of good things — high employment, stable prices, low interest rates."

While fears about the deficit may have been out of proportion in the past, there is reason to worry that the deficit may not remain benign. The U.S. deficit (and foreign surpluses) are the product of millions of individual, mostly private, transactions — decisions to move earth with Komatsu bulldozers instead of Caterpillars, to drink Coca-Cola instead of Coors, to fly British Airways instead of United. The transactions are voluntary and generally take place between consenting adults. So why is it

The latest spin on the trade wars may be short-sighted.

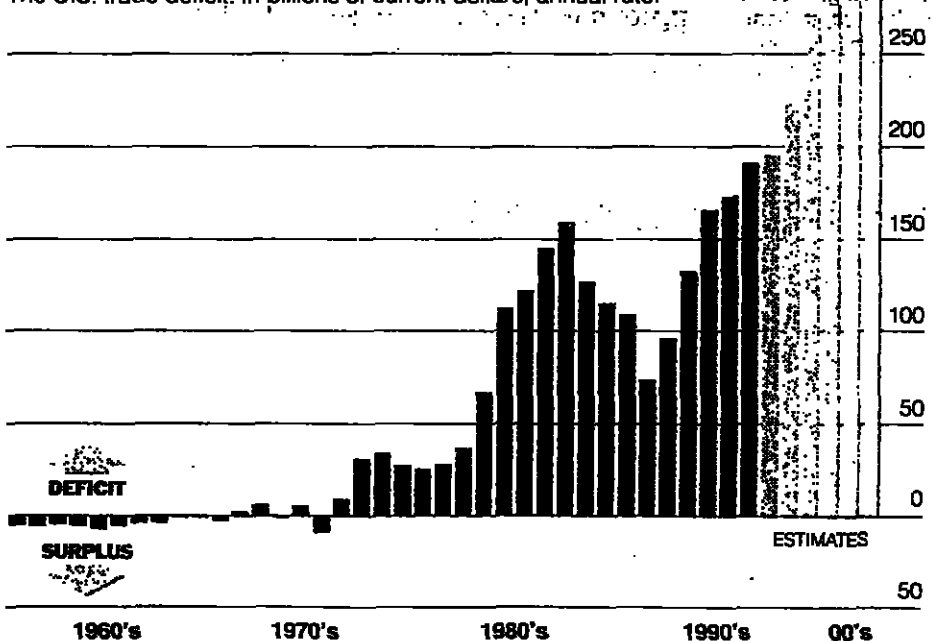
anyone's business but theirs?

In the early 1980's large deficits were seized upon as evidence of America's lack of competitiveness — or perhaps just the perfidy of our trade partners (American skis were barred from Japan as unsafe because the customs inspectors insisted Japanese snow was different). But neither argument held up under close inspection. While trade barriers can distort commerce, exchange rates between currencies largely determine who sells what to whom. Put another way: If the dollar ever became weak enough, Americans would export bananas to Honduras.

Some in the Reagan Administration seized on the confusion to turn conventional wisdom on its head. The trade deficit, they argued, was driven by the strong dollar, which made imports cheap. And the strong dollar was a product of foreigners' abiding faith in the American economy. Why else would the Japanese pour their profits from exports into American Treasury bonds and real estate, and why else would Europeans plow their savings into DuPont and Merck?

That Pesky Trade Deficit

The U.S. trade deficit, in billions of current dollars, annual rate.



Source: Standard & Poor's DRI

The current inclination to treat the trade deficit as evidence of America's economic superiority parallels the spin employed by the Reaganites. Healthy economies running at full capacity tend to suck in imports, while those in recession (Japan's) or in chaos (Korea's, Indonesia's) demand little from abroad and work like crazy to export their surplus production. So the ballooning American deficit, the reasoning goes, is nothing to worry about. In fact, buying all those terrific Asian cars, clothes and computer chips at bargain-basement prices is nothing less than America's duty to the New World Order. "America is the economic locomotive for the globe," said Fred Bergsten, director of the Institute for International Economics.

Cutting through the half-truths, Robert Lawrence of Harvard's Kennedy School of Economics argues that the only certain conclusion to be drawn from the persistence of American trade deficits is that "we're borrowing more abroad than they are borrowing from us." And the virtue or vice of deficits, he concludes, turns on what the borrowed resources are used for.

Saving Too Little

If the money is invested in productive capacity, it's good; if it's used for consumption, it's bad. Viewed this way, America's large and growing deficit is worrisome, for Americans are saving far too little to sustain the living standards of the baby boomers when they retire. And inviting foreigners to accumulate American assets will only compound this pinch since Japanese and European investors will presumably cash in their securities when they, too, retire and claim wedges from the same economic pie.

But by a more immediate test — the one uppermost on the minds of Democrats who fought NAFTA — the current trade deficit seems relatively benign. While it is hard to

deny that buying Lexuses instead of Cadillacs reduces employment in Detroit, it is equally hard to argue that overall employment opportunities in the booming American economy have been reduced by the imbalance of trade. Indeed, suggests Ms. Tyson, imports have served as a safety valve, releasing pressure on prices and giving the Federal Reserve the courage to allow unemployment to fall well below the level thought to be inflationary.

Arguably the most difficult question is whether the import orgy will have an unhappy ending — whether the rest of the world will wake up someday and punish the United States for its profligacy. In the 1980's the economist Stephen Marris warned of a "hard landing" in which record-high American deficits would cause foreign investors to lose confidence in the dollar. And in their rush to move their accumulated billions to safer havens, they

It's not the imbalance that counts. It's what the money is spent on.

would trigger a big spike in interest rates and a nasty recession.

It never happened. But after the series of currency crises beginning with Mexico in 1994 and perhaps not ending in Indonesia in 1997, Peter Kenen of Princeton University wonders whether complacency about the hard landing scenario is appropriate. "The only definition of an unsustainable deficit is one that wasn't sustained last week," he said. "The day could come when investors suddenly decided that the yen or the new euro was the only place to be."

Nobody's Smart About Intelligence

Continued From Page 9

over the world I.Q. scores are steadily rising. Since at least the late 19th century, right on through the S.A.T. decline, people have been getting smarter, or at least better at taking I.Q. tests.

This strange brew of statistics is not necessarily inconsistent. "The S.A.T. is an achievement test rather than an intelligence test," said Dr. Ulric Neisser, a Cornell University psychologist and head of a recent American Psychological Association task force on human intelligence. "It is aimed at what kids learned in school. It's perfectly possible for kids to get smarter in an I.Q. sense — especially in terms of logical reasoning and analysis — and yet learn less and less of the substantive curriculum."

"The U.S. ranks near the bottom on schoolchildren's knowledge of math and science," he said, "because our society is not committed to the importance of learning these subjects."

Decade of the Brain

Part of the problem in gauging the gross national mental product is a sheer lack of scientific understanding. This is the next-to-last year of the much-vaunted Decade of the Brain and what is there to show for it? All kinds of data on which parts of the head light up when a person balances a checkbook or listens to classical rock, but very little about how all the chemicals sloshing around in the head combine to produce the neuronal buzz called thinking.

A hundred years ago, in science's blissful ignorance, intelligence seemed naively simple. One can measure kidney or heart function, so why not brain function? And so came the I.Q. tests, attempts to quantify some kind of general intelligence, which the psychologists called "g."

The idea is not completely crazy. The brain is presumably some kind of information processor. Why can't the cerebral engineers measure how well the neurons are manipulating data in much the same way computer engineers benchmark the blazing speed of an Apple G3 chip against that of an Intel Pentium 2? Studies indeed show that the value of g measured on I.Q. tests correlates somewhat with something called "nerve conduction velocity" and other purported gauges of neurological processing speed.

But the meaning of these tests is as open to interpretation as the S.A.T., and the idea of a general intellectual skill has been eclipsed over the years by the view that intelligence is a many-faceted thing. Trying to capture it with a single number is like gauging the abilities of a supercomputer by how much heat it emits.

According to the psychologist Robert Sternberg's triarchic model, there are three fundamental kinds of intelligence: analytic (what the I.Q. tests measure), creative and practical. Kenyan children who are great at identifying medicinal herbs (high in practical intelligence) score low on I.Q. tests, and vice versa.

In his more extravagant theory of "multiple intelligences," the psychologist Howard Gardner adds even more flavors: linguistic, musical, logical/mathematical, spatial, bodily/kinesthetic and intrapersonal and interpersonal abilities. If you're not a candidate for Mensa, you might be a genius at the

One educator says it's possible for children to gain in I.Q. tests yet learn less and less of a rigorous curriculum.

tango. In his best seller, "Emotional Intelligence" (Bantam, 1995), Daniel Goleman argued that things like empathy, self-control, persistence and other affective skills are more important to success in life than I.Q.

But the importance of g may be making a comeback. The mysterious Flynn effect, described in "The Rising Curve" (American Psychological Association, 1998), a forthcoming book of essays edited by Dr. Neisser, applies not to how well you get along with others or figure-skate but to the old-fashioned definition of intelligence — how well you do on tests of abstract reasoning. I.Q., according to the Flynn effect, is rising by about three points a decade.

Escalating even faster are results of Raven's Progressive Matrices, often billed as the best gauge of g. Takers of the test are shown a 3-by-3 grid. Eight of the nine cells contain geometrical patterns. The challenge is to discern the rules by which the patterns are arranged and then fill in the missing one.

There is nothing trivial about the task, and it is somewhat astounding that people are getting better at it all the time, even while studies show a profound level of ignorance over matters like whether dinosaurs lived at the same time as cavemen or whether the earth orbits around the sun. Can people really be getting sharper and more ignorant at the same time?

Flynn himself (James R., a political scientist in New Zealand) has infuriated many of his colleagues by refusing to believe in his own effect, dismissing it as an artifact. It seems implausible, he argues, that we are so much smarter than our grandparents.

Other psychologists have embraced the unexpected good news, offering a variety of possible explanations. Most compelling is that the increasing complexity of the world is challenging the brain to become more and more agile, stretching the synapses further every year. Video games, programming the VCR — even the willfully ignorant are exposed to even more intricate visual patterns and forced to learn more complicated tasks.

Why then did students in the early 1960's do so much better on S.A.T.'s — especially on the verbal scores? Maybe they compensated for their slower brains by studying harder, reading books instead of watching black-and-white TV.

While the brain's natural ability to grasp visual patterns has probably been getting more exercise, there is another kind of thinking that doesn't come so easily — the plodding, step-by-step labor of following through a chain of logical deductions, or composing a coherent paragraph and combining it with others into a compelling argument.

This deliberate, serial thinking, which many consider the hallmark of humanity, doesn't get much of a workout from playing Tetris or watching MTV. And it's the hardest of all to quantify.

John 11:50

ECONOMY

Selling Europeans on the Promise of the Stock Market

By JOHN TAGLIABUE

TWO years ago, Boris Ogursky was working for the catering arm of Lufthansa, the German airline, when he saw the future and made a bet.

The German Government was selling off the last bits of the airline to investors, and Lufthansa management was trying to introduce employees to the idea of having a stake in the company's success.

In place of a pay raise, employees could choose between a one-time cash payout and an equivalent amount of stock.

And to make the notion of stock ownership too good to refuse, Lufthansa added a twist: Employees could borrow money interest-free from the airline to buy additional stock at market prices.

After two years, they could either sell the shares and pay back the loan or hold onto them and pay it off gradually. If Lufthansa's share price rose, the employees pocketed the profit; if it sank, the company promised to buy back the shares at no loss to the employee.

Mr. Ogursky bit. He purchased 67 Lufthansa shares at 20.60 German marks, or nearly \$12 a share. On Friday they closed at 34.35 marks, or almost \$19. Mr. Ogursky's 110 shares — he later added to his holdings — are now worth about \$2,100.

Stock ownership in Europe is nothing like it is in the United States. Forty-three percent of adult Americans own shares either directly or through mutual funds, compared with only 6 percent of adult Germans, 16 percent of the French and 25 percent of Britons. Investing in stocks has long been considered too chancy a move in the Old World, where the middle-class investment of choice is a virtually risk-free Government bond.

But that is changing. In 1995, when Lufthansa first offered its risk-free stock-buying program, only about half the employees signed up. When the airline repeated the offer last year, almost 60 percent bought in. And two-thirds of those purchased extra shares with an interest-free loan.

Nor are the Lufthansa employees alone. Across Europe, as governments sell off more and more enterprises, the welfare state is being replaced by a new capitalism. Europeans — most of them — are having to learn to become shareholders, and, indeed, to think about money in entirely new ways.

The Continent's long march toward a single currency, and the low inflation and tight monetary policy

that go with it, have pushed interest rates lower and lower. That steady descent is prompting individuals and families to shift their savings from bonds, insurance policies and bank accounts to common stock and, even more so, to mutual funds.

Economic change is sculpting something bigger, too: a greater sense among people, be they German or French, Italian or Spanish, that they alone are responsible for their financial security.

"There is an insecurity that the state might no longer guarantee your future," said Mr. Ogursky, who is 29. "The state is not yet saying that, but I've got 35 years ahead of me, or longer, and that's why I believe it will get more like in America, that you will have to look after yourself."

Investing in stocks has long been considered too chancy a move in the Old World. But that is changing.

The analogy appeals to American investment banks and brokerage firms, which are confident that their experience at home gives them a leg up in what will become, with the arrival of Europe's common currency, a playground rivaling the American marketplace in size.

With American-style pension funds to create, mutual funds to sell and a new hunger for stocks to sate, both European and American financial services companies are rapidly digging trenches for the coming fray.

In December, the Bankers Trust New York Corporation acquired the European equities division of Britain's National Westminster Bank. A month earlier, Merrill Lynch bought one of Europe's largest investment firms, the Mercury Asset Management Group.

Likewise, many of the past year's big Wall Street deals, like Travelers Group's \$9 billion acquisition of Salomon Brothers, have been undertaken with Europe in mind — driven, at least partly, by a desire to meld the global equity and bond underwriting capacity of one partner with the international retail distribution network of the other.

Insurance companies are also

scrambling for position. Last week, Commercial Union P.L.C., one of Britain's largest insurers, announced that it would pay \$10.8 billion to acquire General Accident P.L.C., creating a company that would rank among the top five insurers in Europe. Deregulation of the European life insurance market and the restructuring of welfare laws played a part in the planned deal, the companies said.

OF course, the new investor mindset is hardly universal. Many Europeans remain uncomfortable with the idea of buying financial security for tomorrow by playing the stock market today.

"You have to know the rules of the game," said Massimo Mandorino, 39, who operates a photo agency in Rome. "You have to follow your investments carefully, diversifying as much as possible. And even then it's not a sure bet. You're still running a risk." When he accumulates capital, he prefers to invest it back in his business.

The virtues of the market also have failed, so far, to penetrate broad swaths of rural and blue-collar Europe. But even here, change is in the offing. In Italy, for instance, private pension funds are being established for workers in the chemical and metalworking industries to take up the slack left by cutbacks in the Government pension system.

Maurizio Benetti, a pension expert at the big CISL labor union federation, said the resulting increase in familiarity with the stock market was likely to encourage blue-collar workers to shift savings from traditional investments in real estate or government bonds into stocks. Moderates like Mr. Benetti say employee shareholdings will help shift the balance of power in Italian corporations toward the workers, though left-wing unions disagree.

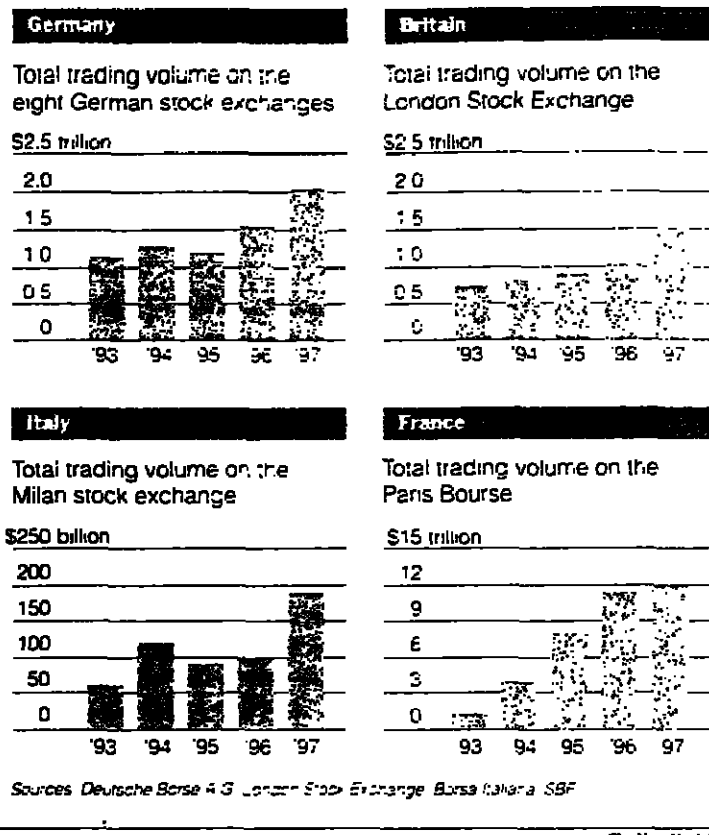
Still, despite the fears and hesitation, what Germans call an Aktienkultur and the Italians a cultura dell'azione — both of which translate roughly as an "equity culture" — is emerging.

Throughout the region, privatizations of huge state enterprises have planted the seeds. Britain went first, in the early 1980's. The initial sale of British Telecom stock by the Government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher created 2.5 million to 3 million shareholders; the sale of British Gas produced 5 million more. Even in France, where politicians have openly sneered at Anglo-Saxon models of free-market capitalism, stock is selling. When France Telecom was sold to the public in 1997, 3.8 million people bought.

The next big step is expected in

A Taste for Stocks

Trading volume on stock markets is growing as more Europeans own stocks



1999, when 11 European nations will scrap their national currencies and replace them with the euro.

European investors accustomed to focusing on their national economies and currencies are expected to reach increasingly for Europe-wide opportunities — weighing sectors like pharmaceuticals against automobiles, or pulp and paper against steel — and to look more closely at credit risk.

The economic logic behind it all is simple. Governments simply do not have the money to pay for social services as they did in the past, so private savings have to be mobilized. "There is a huge wave of needs — in pensions, health, education — and governments cannot deficit-finance it," said John Llewellyn, chief global economist at Lehman Brothers in London. "Fewer basics will be paid for by tax contributions, and more by the private sector. There is no alternative."

AMONG the beneficiaries of this fundamental change will be the American stock markets. Just as Americans have been urged for years to diversify their stock

portfolios by investing internationally, Europeans bit by the investment bug are funneling money into foreign markets, including the United States. According to a report by J. P. Morgan Securities in London, net foreign purchases of American shares in the first half of 1997 totaled \$30.1 billion, more than twice the amount for all of 1996; much of that money came from Europe.

GABRIELA Bracconi, a smartly dressed woman in her 40's, sits at a booth inside a Milan branch of Credito Italiano, one of Italy's largest banks. An employee of an advertising agency, Ms. Bracconi is using a new investor service created by the bank about two years ago. As she fills out a questionnaire and chats with an investment adviser, the bank gets a picture of her assets and investment needs and ranks her in one of 10 investor categories, depending on the rate of return she wants and the risk she will accept.

If all of this sounds very familiar to Americans, it is new to Italians. As Italy tightened its fiscal belt to qualify for the euro, bond yields tumbled, causing conservative investors, including Ms. Bracconi, to scramble into more lucrative investments like stocks. And people just entering the work force have even less choice about searching for yield. Ms. Bracconi will get 80 percent of her final salary as a Government old-age benefit, but thanks to pension reform, younger workers can count on collecting only about 50 to 60 percent of their final pay.

"When government bonds began yielding less, I needed an alternative," Ms. Bracconi said. After the Italian Government privatized Credito in 1993, the bank hired Alessandro Profumo from McKinsey & Company's European banking group as its chief executive. Mr. Profumo undertook sweeping changes, replacing about two-thirds of the bank's top management. Sniffing an industry revolution in the air, he overhauled the branch offices and trained 700 employees — some newly hired, others transferred from other jobs — as asset managers.

"If you're 30 years old and they tell you the welfare state is disappearing, you will look around" for financial advice, explained Luca Majocchi, a McKinsey alumnus who is director of retail and private banking at Credito. "Now we have to transform ourselves into real consultants, managers with expectations regarding the rate of return and risk."

The transformation is well under way. As interest rates in Italy plunged to 5 percent, from 15 percent three years ago, Credito's assets under management soared to \$33 billion last year, more than double the level of a decade ago. That growth

includes a sixfold increase in its mutual fund assets since just 1995.

Typically, Credito has shied from developing many new products on its own, preferring to use its network of 700 branches to sell mutual and pension fund products or bank card services developed by outside specialists.

For example, during Ms. Bracconi's visit to the Milan branch, she signed up for a Genius card, which among other services offers discounts on travel and entertainment for a fee ranging from \$8.50 to \$17 a month. The card is distributed by CUC Europe, a unit of the Candent Corporation based in Stamford, Conn. The unit provides similar products for customers of a variety of European banks.

Credito also has a deal with Capital International Ltd. in London, a unit of the Los Angeles-based Capital Group, a manager of big American mutual funds like Washington Mutual Investors and the Investment Company of America. Capital International manages Credito assets invested in developing markets like Latin America and Asia, while Credito has developed Italian mutual funds for Capital to sell outside Italy.

Bankers like Mr. Majocchi see creation of financial products like mutual funds as primarily the domain of big players; the wave of mergers and acquisitions in Europe's financial services aims to create economies of scale and scope. But Mr. Majocchi says the sales of funds and other services will remain largely in the hands of local players, if only because of the prohibitive cost of building new retail networks.

STILL, such a two-tiered structure would move the center of gravity in European investing toward individual investors and those who serve them. "The power is shifting away from the institutional investors," said John J. M. St. John, the head of European equity capital markets at Salomon Smith Barney in London.

"The next 10 years will bring rapid change," Mr. St. John added. With a single currency, he said, "you're talking about getting a share of what will be the world's largest market."

Bond traders exult as much as stock brokers when they imagine the market's dimensions. From Europe's grab bag of fragmented national bond markets, these experts see the emergence of one immense market denominated in one currency. Even if only Europe's five core countries — Germany, France, and the so-called Benelux states of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg — are part of this new single bond market, it will still be the world's second largest, exceeding that of the Japanese yen and falling only about 30 percent short of the dollar market's \$9.5 trillion.

European institutional investors now bound by statutory requirements to buy a portion of bonds in local currencies will be free to range, since local currencies will no longer exist. Fund managers trading between, say, Frankfurt and Milan now parlay the risk from foreign-exchange volatility into about half of their returns. But with little or no foreign-exchange risk, they will be begging for high-yielding, high-risk bonds, a search that many believe will spawn an American-style market in high-risk corporate bonds.

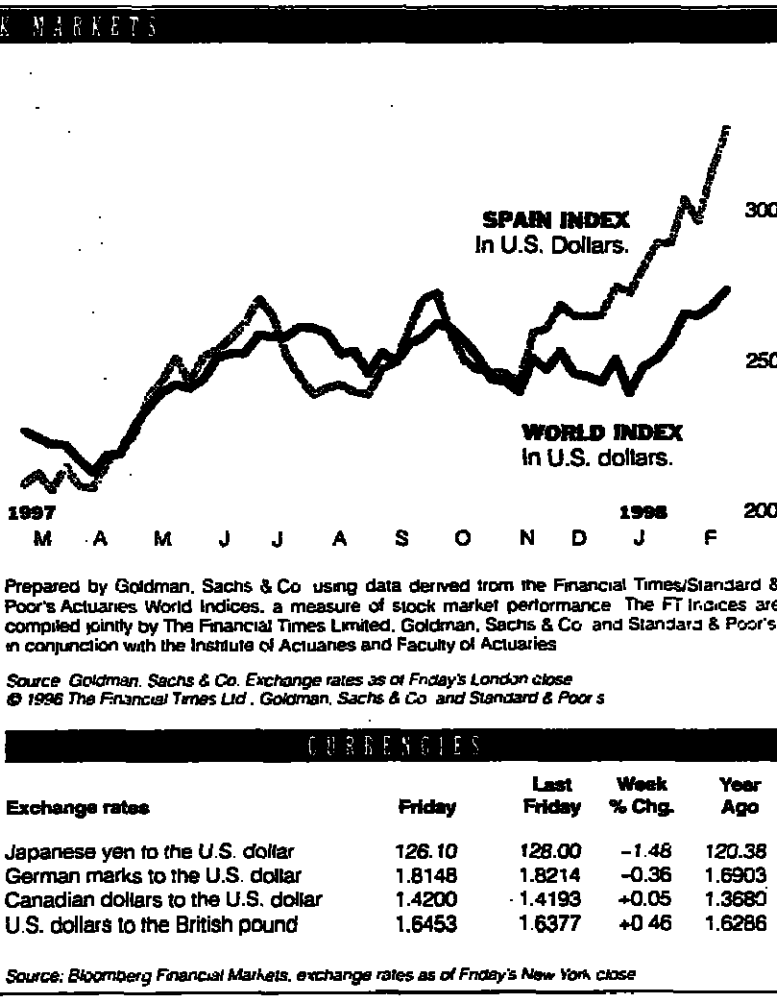
Junk bonds are quite a journey from the simple privatizations and other stock offerings that gave Boris Ogursky, the Lufthansa employee, and other Europeans a boost into the capital markets and a stake in their financial security. And so no one is predicting that the transformation of Europe into a continent of sophisticated investors will be either unwavering or swift; there is plenty of uncertainty to go around.

But at Lufthansa, that has given Mr. Ogursky something akin to celebrity status. Befuddled fellow employees who — like their parents and grandparents before them — had never owned stocks have come to him for advice.

"Guys I work with, shares have to become familiar to them," Mr. Ogursky said over coffee at Frankfurt's huge international airport. "They have to learn the basics." □

Country	IN U.S. DOLLARS					IN LOCAL CURR.				
	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank
Australia	213.31	3.6	13	8.8	20	208.26	1.9			
Austria	206.14	4.2	11	9.0	16	194.36	10.1			
Belgium	282.16	1.8	21	10.9	13	260.65	12.1			
Brazil	237.60	1.8	20	-0.4	25	494.30	0.9			
Britain	370.16	1.2	24	11.6	10	333.28	11.5			
Canada	227.39	2.3	17	7.1	19	234.34	6.5			
Denmark	459.39	-0.1	28	2.7	21	432.26	3.7			
Finland	353.20	4.3	10	28.8	3	408.45	28.3			
France	266.17	5.1	4	11.2	12	254.24	12.6			
Germany	252.73	2.5	15	10.2	14	238.45	11.2			
Hong Kong	362.55	6.4	2	1.5	23	360.38	1.5			
Indonesia	50.18	1.1	25	-24.0	26	272.46	22.3			
Ireland	486.95	4.3	9	21.3	6	503.22	26.8			
Italy	136.08	3.7	12	15.7	7	181.86	17.1			
Japan	104.87	1.9	19	10.1	15	83.74	6.9			
Malaysia	225.71	4.5	8	37.3	2	319.46	29.6			
Mexico	1,591.44	4.8	6	-11.7	27	1,430.82	-6.7			
Netherlands	458.15	4.9	5	11.8	9	428.01	12.9			
New Zealand	76.71	1.1	27	0.4	24	69.44	-0.6			
Norway	303.82	1.1	26	-4.9	26	312.13	-2.3			
Philippines	96.75	6.7	1	22.0	4	192.38	22.0			
Singapore	228.95	6.1	3	1.7	22	171.03	-2.2			
South Africa	284.74	2.0	18	7.3	18	307.54	8.9			
Spain	330.98	4.5	7	21.8	5	386.18	23.1			
Sweden	522.28	3.4	14	11.2	11	619.04	12.2			
Switzerland	385.72	2.4	16	13.2	8	350.95	13.9			
Thailand	32.51	1.7	22	68.4	1	54.38	50.8			
United States	428.35	1.4	23	8.1	17	428.35	8.1			

COMPOSITE INDICES				
Europe	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.
Europe	324.08	2.7	12.1	2.11
Pacific Basin	115.61	2.6	9.2	1.58
Europe/Pacific	202.56	2.6	11.1	1.94
World	277.30	2.0	9.2	1.70



CURRENCIES				
Exchange rates	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar	126.10	128.00	-1.48	120.38
German marks to the U.S. dollar	1.8148	1.8214	-0.36	1.6903
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar	1.4200	1.4193	+0.05	1.3680
U.S. dollars to the British pound	1.6453	1.6377	+0.46	1.6286

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets, exchange rates as of Friday's New York close

Feb. 23-27: The Asian What? For the First Time, the Dow Passes 8,500

PRICES

DOMESTIC EQUITIES

Broad market	Up 1.46%
S. & P. 500 index	1,049.34
Blue chips	Up 1.57%
Dow 30 Industrials	8,545.72
Small capitalization	Up 1.73%
Russell 2000 index	461.83

DOMESTIC BONDS

Treasuries	Down 0.43%
Ryan Labs. Total Return	215.76
Municipals	Down 0.91%
Bond Buyer index	123.34
Corporates	Down 0.30%
Merrill Lynch Master index	946.48

AROUND THE WORLD

European stocks	Up 2.67%
F.T.-Actuaries Europe	324.08
Asian stocks	Up 2.59%
F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin	115.61
Gold	Up 0.47%
New York cash price	\$300.10

Foreign indexes are given in dollar terms.

YIELDS

BONDS

Long bonds	5.92%
30-year Treasuries	Up 5 basis pts.
Notes	5.53%
2-year Treasuries	Up 14 basis pts.
Municipals	5.24%
Bond Buyer index	Up 6 basis pts.

OTHER INVESTMENTS

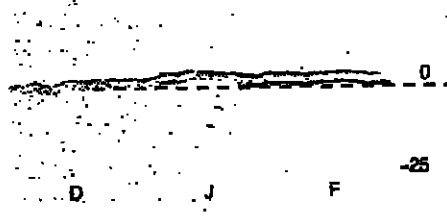
Money market funds	5.03%
Taxable average	Down 1 basis pt.
Bank C.D.'s	4.98%
1-year small savers	Unchanged
Stocks	1.52%
S. & P. 500 dividend yield	Down 1 b.p.

100 basis points = 1 percentage point

90-DAY RELATIVE TREND



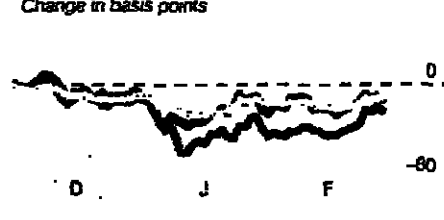
90-DAY RELATIVE TREND



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90-DAY RELATIVE TREND



90-DAY RELATIVE TREND



The New York Times

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Tinkering Perilously With Europe

With Washington preoccupied by other events, the Senate is rapidly moving toward a momentous decision on NATO expansion. Though the issue has stirred little passion outside the foreign policy fraternity, the eastward extension of NATO ought to concern every American because it may damage the country's paramount security interests for decades to come. There is still time for the Senate to weigh these risks and to reject a plan that is likely to undermine the very goals the White House insists it will achieve, including the advancement of democracy and unity in Europe.

Redrawing the map of Europe does not happen every day. When it has been tried over the centuries, by treaty or force of arms, it has often led to devastating conflict. In promoting NATO membership now for Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, and creating an expectation of future invitations for other Eastern European nations, the Clinton Administration is betting that several potentially harmful consequences will not result. That is a bet the country should not make, especially when the potential gains of expansion are so slight.

The clearest danger zone is Russia's relationship with Europe. The political, economic and military stability of the continent depends heavily on whether Russia completes its transition to democracy and a market economy. Any move that impedes or reverses that transformation is clearly not in European or American interests.

Yet that is precisely what NATO expansion may do. For the moment, Boris Yeltsin has grudgingly accepted NATO growth as the price Moscow must pay for harmony with the West and the financial assistance that comes with it. But Bill Clinton and his aides mistake Mr. Yeltsin's acquiescence for permanent Russian acceptance. His successors may well prove less cooperative. In Russia's volatile political environment, NATO expansion could easily be exploited by nationalist forces intent on diminishing democracy and chilling relations with the West.

Even under Mr. Yeltsin the prospect of expansion has taken a heavy toll. A vital treaty to reduce nuclear arms is stalled in parliament. With NATO forces likely to move hundreds of miles closer to its border, Russia has already placed greater reliance on its nuclear weapons as a first line of defense. Relations with Washington are deteriorating across a range of issues, from the handling of Iraq to the management of Russia's nuclear materials.

In exchange for these serious consequences, NATO expansion would bring no discernible gain. East-West divisions are evaporating and free markets are spreading. An increasingly democratic Russia poses no threat to its neighbors. This is not a picture that cries out for enlarging a military alliance whose core purpose, defense against the Soviet bloc, is obsolete. Even a majority of citizens in the Czech Republic see no need to join NATO.

It remains a mystery why absorption in the European Union is not the preferred way to promote unity and prosperity in Europe. It would do so in a way that embraces rather than excludes Russia. There will be ample time in the future to plant the NATO flag farther east if Russia should turn threatening again.

Then there is the financial expense of expansion. The Pentagon recently came up with a new estimate of the cost, \$1.5 billion over 10 years. The number is laughable, clearly cooked to reassure the Senate as it approaches a vote. Only a few months ago the Pentagon calculated the cost could run as high as \$35 billion over 13 years. Two years ago the Congressional Budget Office estimated the price tag might be as high as \$125 billion over 15 years.

In giving the Senate the power to ratify and amend treaties, the Constitution expects more of the Senate than it is delivering on NATO. There must be a serious, sustained debate about enlargement, not the rush to approval that the White House would prefer. The 50th anniversary of NATO's birth in 1999, Washington's deadline for installing new members, is hardly a compelling reason to force a decision that the country is likely to regret well into the next century.

A Promising Clean Water Strategy

The 1972 Clean Water Act has been the most effective of all the landmark environmental measures enacted in the early 1970's. But while it has done a good job of controlling pollution from so-called "point sources" like factories and waste treatment plants, the act has failed to stem poisonous runoff from "non-point" sources like farms and city streets. This runoff is the main reason why nearly 40 percent of the nation's lakes and streams remain unfishable and unswimmable.

The Clinton Administration has now offered a strategy to remedy this flaw. Given the hostility of this Congress to new environmental legislation, the President has chosen to attack the problem with a series of administrative actions by the Environmental Protection Agency, the Interior Department and other agencies. But Congress will be asked to provide about \$2.4 billion in new money over five years to make the plan work. We urge it to do so. This is a modest, common-sense strategy that merits bipartisan support.

For the first time, the plan would establish enforceable limits on runoffs of nitrogen and phosphorus — two destructive nutrients found in fertilizers, sewage and animal wastes. At the same time, Washington would make available hundreds of mil-

lions of dollars to states and individual landowners to pay for setting aside land for stream buffers that prevent the nutrients from entering the water in the first place. These nutrients have been linked not only to outbreaks of *Pfiesteria piscicida*, a fish-killing microbe, in Maryland and North Carolina, but also to the 6,000-square-mile "dead zone" of oxygen-depleted water in the Gulf of Mexico.

The plan would also impose new restrictions on huge corporate farming operations that generate mountains of waste that are typically stored in "lagoons" the size of several football fields. These gigantic pits, which sometimes overflow during rainstorms, would be regarded as "point sources" subject to regular inspections and, when violations occur, heavy fines.

Another ambitious element of the plan seeks to add 100,000 acres a year to the nation's declining inventory of valuable wetlands. To do so, however, the Administration must win the cooperation of the Army Corps of Engineers, which oversees wetlands policy and has been parceling out the land bit by bit to developers. One of the more attractive features of the Clinton strategy is that it promises to involve every Federal agency in the fight for cleaner water. Without the corps, the strategy will be incomplete.

Editorial Notebook

One Scholar and the Matrix of the Past

Ancient Near-Eastern Cylinder Seals And the Model of Culture

In a city like New York the deep meaning of culture occasionally presents itself, not as a definition but as a web of unexpected entanglements. A good example is the modest exhibition of cylinder seals now on display at the Pierpont Morgan Library.

These seals are small engraved cylinders of stone — marble, lapis lazuli, serpentine, alabaster. When a cylinder is rolled across soft clay, it leaves a raised repeating impression, making a clay frieze used to seal containers and storerooms in Mesopotamia — part of modern Iraq — 6,000 years ago. The seals depict an utterly unfamiliar world where a nude bearded hero with six curls coexists with a bull-man, water gods and a lion-griffin.

What is striking is not just the strangeness of this distant world but the clarity with which it is represented. In cylinders no taller than an inch or two, Mesopotamian artists carved images that, when fleshed out in clay, have a fullness, a torsional dimension, that allows the musculature of their hips to flex toward the viewer. A lion sinks its teeth into a bull, and doing so it reaches behind the bull's head and shows its face to the viewer, the lion's power expressed in the extremity of that arc.

For many years the Morgan's cylinder seals were in the care of the late Edith Porada, a scholar born in 1912 who was raised in Vienna and came to the United States in 1938. Dr. Porada's demesne at the Morgan Library was a dim corner room in the basement — not an office, but a tiny storeroom where the seals were kept. She was a brisk but courtly woman, compact, accented in her movements, it seemed, as well as in her speech. She was also perfectly polite to curatorial assist-

ants she suddenly startled by appearing out of nowhere. Like many people in this city, Dr. Porada seemed, in that basement, somewhat out of context because the context to which she really belonged was so much larger. It reached from the Morgan Library to Columbia University, where she taught, to Vienna and, ultimately, to cities like Ur in ancient Mesopotamia, a place where goods were sealed for purely practical reasons with clay images of the hero with curls and Shamash the sun god. In those vanished cities the languages spoken were Sumerian and later Akkadian, which Dr. Porada learned to read at the University of Vienna in the early 1930's.

Growing up in Vienna, she noted, she could hardly escape being interested in archeology because "the camp of emperor Marcus Aurelius was in what is now the center of town." An older cousin told her to study the ancient Near East. The person she studied with told her to work on cylinder seals of the Akkad period. "As I think this over," she wrote wryly, "it seems to me that there must have been some collusion, those sixty years ago, among the professors."

Collusion is one model of culture — the unspoken agreement, the consensus of well-informed cousins. But another model emerges from the life work of a scholar like Dr. Porada. The cylinder seals lie inert in their cases. Their images make no sense until rolled onto clay, or rather they make no sense until they have been impressed upon a mind that can bring them to life again. Given her cousin's and professor's directives, it would have been easy to respond to the seals dutifully, to surrender to the inertness of the past. But to awaken the past by one's own commitment to it, to become the matrix where past and present converge, that was Dr. Porada's culture. She is gone now, but the seals remain, entwined forever with her words.

VERLYN KLINKENBORG

Has Nonfiction Ever Lived Up to Its Name?

To the Editor:

Re "Now! Read the True (Moire or Less) Story!" (Arts pages, Feb. 24): Does anyone believe that Pericles actually made the speeches Thucydides puts in his mouth, word for word? Does a roman à clef, say Jacqueline Susann's "Valley of the Dolls," count as fiction even though everyone knows that its characters are thinly disguised real people?

The dichotomy of nonfiction versus fiction has always been questionable, if not downright fictitious itself. Maybe we need one or more middle categories, reserving "fiction" for when the author wants the reader to believe he made it all up; "semifiction" for material basically drawn from documented events but using some common literary devices like the combination of several minor characters into one person and "reconstructed" conversations, and "nonfiction" for material that is unquestionably objective, like the hard sciences.

A. C. WILLIAMS
Ridgewood, N.J., Feb. 24, 1998

'Storm of the Century'

To the Editor:

I commend you for raising the issue of authors fictionalizing sections of ostensibly nonfiction books (Arts pages, Feb. 24). As a genre it's fine, only it shouldn't be called nonfiction. Writers who restrict themselves to facts are fighting with one hand tied behind their backs and shouldn't be thrown into the ring with writers like John Berendt or Truman Capote, who — accomplished as they are — admit taking liberties to live a story.

In "The Perfect Storm" I decided that imaginary scenes or dialogue detracted from rather than enhanced the drama of a story, and so I

went to great lengths to avoid even the most innocent fictionalizing. This decision was spelled out in the foreword, so I was disappointed that you included my book as an example of loosely interpreted nonfiction, implying that I made up the idea of the "storm of the century" to make it more dramatic. In fact, the storm was described that way by three different sources, including a National Weather Service meteorologist whom I interviewed for the book.

SEBASTIAN JUNG
New York, Feb. 26, 1998

Unfamiliar Worlds

To the Editor:

As an editor of nonfiction I read with sinking heart your report on the increase in fictionalized nonfiction (Arts pages, Feb. 24). Most of the writers I've worked with have been able to make facts interesting without resorting to (in John Berendt's nice euphemism) "rounding the corners."



Steven Brown

Emotions on the Court

To the Editor:

In your Feb. 26 front-page article on the decision to let Nykesha Sales score an uncontested basket so she could break a record, Michael Tranchese, the Big East commissioner, does a disservice to male athletes when he says that "men compete, get along, and move on with few emotions." Who can forget the joy on the speedskater Dan Jansen's face when he finally won Olympic gold?

Or the sportsmanship of the Baltimore Orioles as they put Cal Ripken Jr. in for game after game despite a sagging batting average and aging back so he could break a record? Or the joy in football when John Elway, the sentimental favorite, slipped on that Super Bowl ring?

In Tranchese's vision, there are few emotions and certainly no record to tell a team of men to "win one for the Gipper."

NANCY E. LUNDEBERG
New York, Feb. 26, 1998

Watchdog for Tobacco

To the Editor:

Your Feb. 24 editorial "No Immunity for Tobacco" argues that the tobacco industry, given newly released industry documents showing that cigarette makers targeted young smokers and likely manipulated the level of nicotine in cigarettes, should not be granted legal immunity for past or future conduct.

But why not a grant of conditional immunity if the industry agrees to provide the Food and Drug Administration with quarterly reports of all of its research, production, distribution and advertising activities, and further agrees to manufacture a product that contains no nicotine or tar and no "kick"-enhancing additive in excess of a standard to be determined by the F.D.A.?

Such immunity would also be subject to the consent of the industry to continuing inspections by the food and drug agency to assure compliance.

BERNARD L. ALBERT
Pacific Palisades, Calif., Feb. 24, 1998

Teamwork in School

To the Editor:

"All for One, One for All and Every Man for Himself" (Week in Review, Feb. 22) effectively points out the misapplication of the concepts of teamwork in schools and the workplace.

Although cooperative learning is at times poorly practiced, research still supports its effectiveness as a teaching approach.

The problem is that many cooperative learning programs are merely exhibitions of the willingness to work with others — they apply teams of people to do work that could be accomplished just as well by individuals. Successful programs like ours focus on collaborative learning that fosters working together to solve problems beyond the capacity of any individual.

RICK GORDON
Co-director, Education by Design
Antioch New England Graduate School
Keene, N.H., Feb. 24, 1998

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Those selected may be shortened for space reasons. Fax letters to (212) 556-3622 or send by electronic mail to letters@nytimes.com, or by regular mail to Letters to the Editor, The New York Times, 229 West 43d Street, New York, N.Y. 10036-3559.

Alcohol and Accidents

To the Editor:

Re "One Nation, Drunk or Sober" (editorial, Feb. 26): Senator Frank R. Lautenberg and his supporters want to withhold highway construction money to blackmail states to set a national blood alcohol limit of 0.08 percent. On average, the blood alcohol level of drivers in alcohol-related accidents is 0.18 percent. We do not like to remember — because alcohol is so easy to blame — that many other complex human factors, like sleeplessness, anger, depression, distractions and so on, may play a role in the complicated behavior of driving a car.

According to a study in The New England Journal of Medicine, the risk of getting into a car while talking on a cellular phone is the same as driving with a 0.10 blood alcohol level, the "drunken driving" threshold in most states.

MORRIS E. CHAPETZ, M.D.
Washington, Feb. 26, 1998

The writer was chairman of the education and prevention committee, Presidential Commission Against Drunk Driving.

To the Editor:

The drunken driver on a roll is no more a local or state problem than airborne particles blown from distant smokestacks. So I applaud your Feb. 26 editorial "One Nation, Drunk or Sober." The call by Senator Frank R. Lautenberg, Representative Nita M. Lowey and others for a nationwide 0.08 percent blood alcohol concentration is a good compromise between safety-conscious Sweden (0.02) and the 0.10 level now accepted as evidence of drunkenness by 33 American states.

Studies from Boston University and the National Highway Transportation Safety Administration show that the 0.08 standard for blood alcohol content would save 30 to 40 lives in one year in New Jersey alone and could spare hundreds of lives and thousands of injuries nationwide. As each alcohol-related fatality is estimated to cost society \$950,000 and each alcohol-related injury averages \$20,000, waste of money compounds waste of lives.

NANCY BRACH
Montclair, N.J., Feb. 26, 1998

The writer is vice president of the National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence of New Jersey.

To the Editor:

You suggest (editorial, Feb. 26) that setting the drinking age at 21 has saved lives, presumably because intoxicated 18-to-20-year-olds can no longer benefit from crossing state lines to consume alcohol. Yet a drinking age of 18 would have the same unifying effect and would allow youthful citizens to enjoy a cold beer after a long day. We can and should do a better job of educating all adults rather than placing the blame on easy targets.

JOHN P. MORGAN
Madison, Wis., Feb. 26, 1998

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Liberties Are Justified

To the Editor:

The implied indictment of "nonfiction novels" in your Feb. 24 Arts pages article is based on a standard that cannot be met even under the best of circumstances.

For example, Jon Krakauer, in the preface to his personal account of the tragic ascent of Mount Everest in 1996 ("Into Thin Air"), tells of asking three others present on the climb to recount a specific incident: "None of us could agree on such crucial facts as the time, what had been said, or even who had been present."

The challenge facing writers like Richard Preston ("Hot Zone") are even greater, for they must rely completely on the accounts of others to describe key events for which there are no survivors or firsthand witnesses.

What these authors do is inform the reader from the outset that circumstances and their methods required that they take some liberties with the "facts" in order to develop a coherent presentation of the "story" they wished to tell. As an enthralled reader of their works, I appreciate both their candor and talents as storytellers.

MEI DUBNICK
Beverly, Mass., Feb. 24, 1998

Competing Olympics

To the Editor:

I am sure the Nagano Olympic Games were very well done, but as an Atlantan who volunteered in the 1996 Games, I am tired of seeing the 1996 Olympics ridiculed as the way not to put on Olympic Games (Sports pages, Feb. 23).

The Atlanta Games were commercial, but that commercial nature not only paid for the Games, it also paid for new stadiums, an airport extension and the largest park built in an American city since World War II — without a cent from the taxpayers. Yes, the Games were congested and marked by transportation difficulties. But more people saw the Atlanta Games than saw the Barcelona and Seoul Games combined.

Each Olympic experience is marked by strengths and weaknesses, as is each Olympic site. The Atlanta Games had their problems, but their strengths more than made up for them.

JONATHAN D. REICH
Atlanta, Feb. 24, 1998

Hockey Embarrassment

To the Editor:

National Hockey League players should not be among the contingent chosen to represent the United States at the 2002 Winter Olympics, as Dave Anderson argues (column, Feb. 24). The 1998 team made it clear that these unprofessional professionals don't deserve the honor.

Most athletes understand that a national-team jersey demands committed play and basic sportsmanship. The American hockey players displayed neither. They acted as if the rest of us should feel honored that they designed to show up at all.

From public comments, it is clear that these million-dollar bores have no clue as to how deeply they offended the people of Nagano and embarrassed the people of the United States.

HARRIS COLLINGWOOD
New York, Feb. 24, 1998

Harding Wasn't a Slacker

To the Editor:

Thomas Fleming (Op-Ed, Feb. 23) examines the Presidency of Warren G. Harding as part of a veiled attack on President Clinton. Unfortunately, he uses the same sort of rumor, hearsay and innuendo to criticize Harding that many of President Clinton's opponents are using against him.

Mr. Fleming suggests that Harding had a mistress named Nan Britton, a blonde twentysomething whom he had smuggled into the White House, yet there is no evidence to corroborate Britton's charge that she had an adulterous affair with Harding or even visited the White House.

Harding, according to Fleming, spent his Presidency playing golf and poker with his friends. White House logs tell a different story. Harding worked hard at being President, often rising early in the morning and working late into the night. He spent no more time playing golf than a healthy Woodrow Wilson.

Harry Daugherty, Harding's Attorney General, was no saint, but to argue as Mr. Fleming does that Daugherty was stealing tons of money from the Government is unjustified. A Federal court refused to convict Daugherty of any wrongdoing.

Harding may not have been a great President or even a good one, but he deserves to be judged on the basis of his actions, not on hearsay and innuendo.

MICHAEL PIERCE
Columbus, Ohio, Feb. 24, 1998

The writer is a doctoral candidate in history at Ohio State University.

1550

Lonely At The Top

By Ronald Steel

Let us be clear about what happened in the recent confrontation with Saddam Hussein. It was not the use of force that brought about the agreement brokered by the United Nations; it was the threat of force. The difference is crucial, and therein lies an important lesson.

For a nation with the virtually unchallenged power of the United States today, the use of force is a constant temptation. Sometimes it is unavoidable. But it is not always appropriate, and there are times when it is self-defeating.

The hardest part of statecraft is knowing the difference. The use of force is, in a real sense, an admission of defeat. It means that a nation has found it impossible to achieve its objectives by other means. And other means are generally better, because force has consequences that cannot be controlled or fully foreseen.

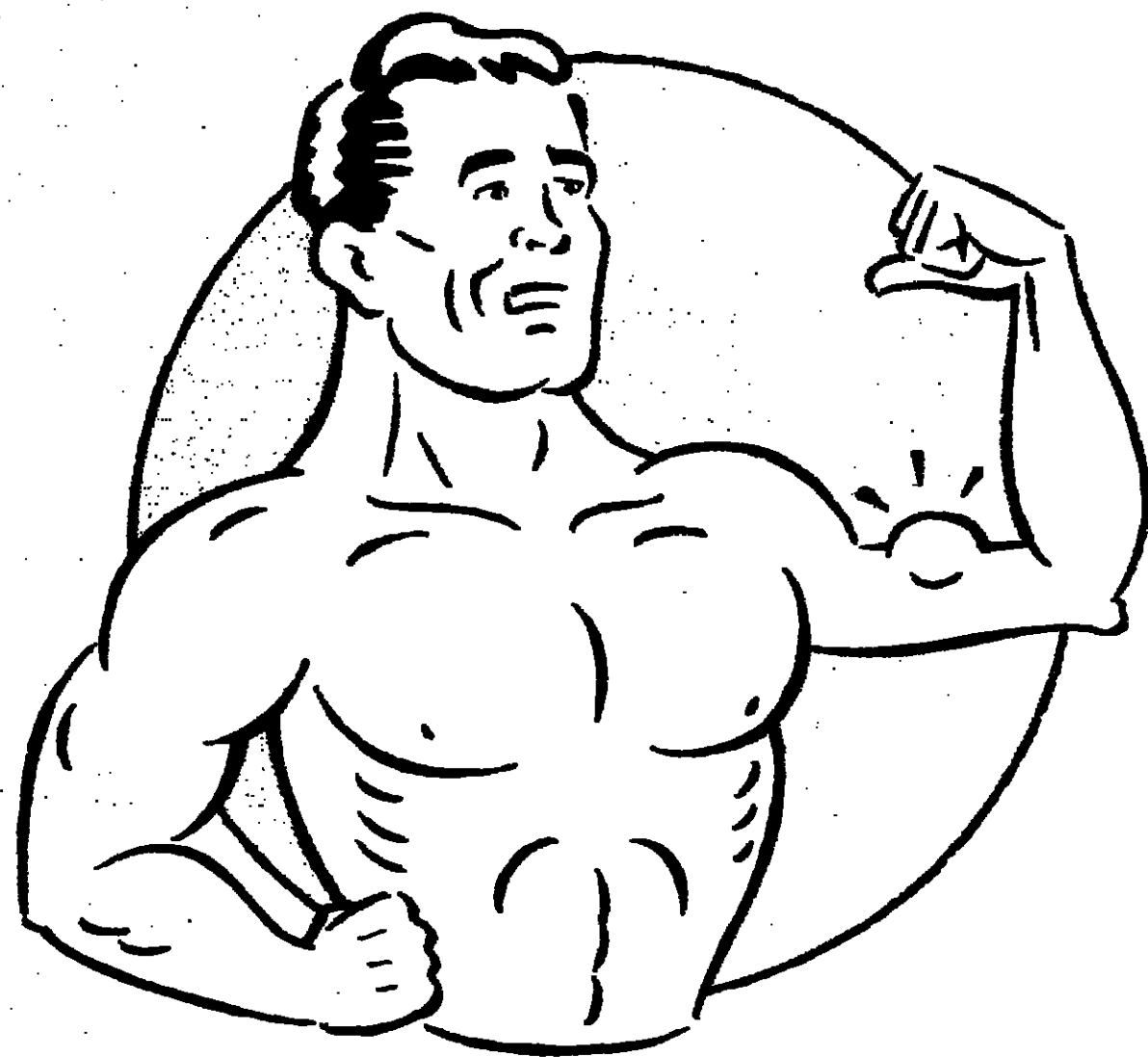
In the case of Iraq, the United States could easily have bombed Baghdad to punish Mr. Hussein for his intransigence. But even advocates of that course admit it would not have prevented him from building more chemical and biological weapons, nor induced him to cooperate with United Nations inspectors, nor weakened his dictatorial hold over his country.

It would, on the other hand, have killed many civilians, inflamed Arabs against the United States, weakened friendly regimes in the region and caused dissension here at home as television reports showed the victims of American bombing. There are times — and this was one of them — when the threat of force brings greater success than its application.

But there is another lesson here as well: that the United States, as the world's most powerful nation, faces greater constraints on its freedom to use force than does any other country. This may seem paradoxical, for the United States dominates the world in every realm: in military power, in economic strength, in cultural influence. We are truly, all of us, living in an American Century.

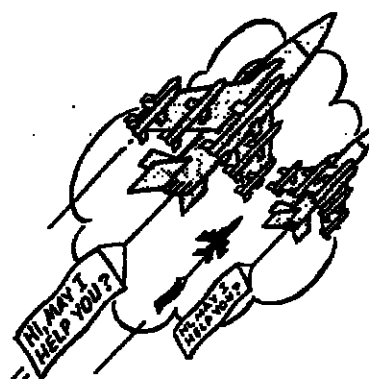
But the very scope of that power raises apprehension and stimulates resistance. The more the United States, because it is so powerful, arrogates the right to act alone without regard to the wishes of other nations, or even in defiance of them, the more it loses the legitimacy to act in their name. And what has the United States been doing these past weeks with regard to Iraq other than acting as self-appointed sheriff of the world community?

Washington officials have repeatedly asserted that they were seeking to punish Iraq not for American purposes, but for the world's good. Yet unlike in 1991, when the United States organized a coalition to liberate Kuwait from Iraq, this time America stood virtually alone.



poses, but for the world's good. Yet unlike in 1991, when the United States organized a coalition to liberate Kuwait from Iraq, this time America stood virtually alone.

This is America's late-century dilemma. Instead of being praised for its selfless defense of international justice and morality, it runs the risk



We're the world's last superpower. Are we having fun yet?

of being accused, even by its allies, of acting like an international bully — especially when it prepares to attack small nations, however criminal their behavior.

In truth, no great power is without self-serving ambition. But if American officials seek to wrap themselves in the mantle of morality, proclaiming themselves to be the world's conscience and enforcer, they invite others to hold them to a higher standard than is applied to the normal run of devious statesmen.

This is where the trouble begins. For if the power is really being exercised for mankind's sake, mankind demands some say in its use. But neither the Constitution, the Congress nor television's Sunday pundits would allow that. And the other nations of the world have not assigned Washington the right to decide when, where and how their interests should be served.

Thus the United States is in a conundrum of its own making. The more that Washington speaks in the world's name and demands the world's endorsement of its actions, the less freedom of action it enjoys. Nobody, except its own citizens, loves a superpower. To behave like one is to invite criticism and breed resentment.

During the cold war it was different. Washington's use of force was, for the most part, treated more tolerantly by allies and neutrals because it was applied in the context of the containment of a greater evil. But with the disappearance of the Soviet Union, Washington's assertion of an international police power has been treated less tolerantly. The resigned shrug has given way, even among allies, to accusations of arrogance.

There is nothing inherently wrong with being an arrogant superpower. That is, after all, the usual definition

of a hegemon. But hegemony, because they throw their weight around and assume that mankind's interests correspond to their own, foster envy and resentment.

Challengers arise to put them in their place. Coalitions form to contain them. Success breeds rebellion. The only way that a No. 1 can avoid this fate is to restrain itself and behave as though it has less power than it actually does.

A superpower like the United States, in other words, can remain a global hegemon — what Madeleine Albright calls the "indispensable nation" — only if it refrains from acting like one. That is what the fracas with Saddam Hussein has taught us. And that is why being No. 1, a Gulliver tied down by a thousand resentful Lilliputians, is not as satisfying as it is supposed to be.

Note to Readers

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Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

Get Nice? Get Lost!

I ran away from Washington to escape a righteous, overzealous prosecutor who is threatening to toss all of us in jail if we don't do everything his way.

But perhaps it was not wise to come to New York. I found myself right back in the clutches of a righteous, overzealous prosecutor who is threatening to toss all of us in jail if we don't do everything his way.

Kenneth Starr and Rudolph Giuliani worked together at the Reagan Justice Department. And they also have this in common: both pranced around in drag for variety shows.

"Ken's a good friend," says Mr. Giuliani.

I went down to City Hall to ask Mr. Giuliani about his new plan to turn New York into Des Moines. It seemed odd — a mayor with such a gift for rudeness starting a campaign to stamp out rudeness. Isn't the guy spouting about metaphysical, Platonic ideals of civility the same guy who dragged away go-go traders in handcuffs? And who kicked Arafat out of a concert?

"Rudy and niceness are two opposites," says Ed Koch.

The Happy Dictator has been getting rid of late-night discos, topless bars, hookers, fireworks, jaywalking, prancing at key intersections, privacy in parks, silence in cabs and a lot of other fun stuff. Now he would deprive New Yorkers of their birthright of silliness?

Taming New York wasn't enough for him. Now he has to neuter it?

The President acts like an undisciplined teen-ager. And the Mayor, as *The Times's* Dan Barry put it, acts

Quality of strife issues.

like "a short-tempered father, glaring at the seven million New Yorkers in the back of his station wagon."

We give Rudy Giuliani a landslide and he offers us a plan for less noise and more poise? Holy Sipowitz!

I wanted to look Mother Superior, as one tabloid dubbed the Mayor, in the eye and see if he had lost it.

Isn't asking New Yorkers to be nice like asking pigs to fly?

"Some people can't separate logically what is unique about New York and what is destructive," he replies. He's a little defensive. He doesn't like being ridiculed. He wants to get one thing straight: It's okay for people to be sarcastic. Well, thank you so much, Mr. Mayor.

"I'm really not asking New Yorkers to be nice," he says. "I'm asking them to be civil. It really isn't my concern whether they're nice or not, or whether they're sarcastic or not. I enjoy sarcasm. What I want them to do is respect each other."

He doesn't want to come across as a control freak, so he confesses that he can be unruly, too. (Such a confession is the sure sign of a control freak.) "I'll give you another criticism that I accept," he says, differentiating from the great majority of criticisms that he does not accept. "Look, I jaywalk, except that I know

it isn't the right thing to do, right? And I am trying hard not to do it, because I know how embarrassed I will be if somebody catches me."

He says he does not like those stupid celebrity voices in the cabs. But he claims they get more people to buckle up.

Will he stop insulting rivals and reporters? "I realized when I started this, it puts a burden on me to try as best I can to live by all these things," he nods. "But I'm sure I'm not going to be able to do it completely. Last week, I was saying 'Yes, sir.' 'No, sir' more often. But I still am going to express my opinions. The purpose of all this is not to have people become obsequious."

I told him the last time I heard a pol be so ambitious about reshaping the character of the citizenry and giving children civics lessons was when giddy Newt Gingrich celebrated the Republican sweep of 1994. He promised to restore a black-and-white sense of morality to the nation and have children "encounter" the Declaration of Independence.

"It would create a wrong impression that asking people to drive slower or not to litter is trying to enforce morality," the Mayor protests. "We're not talking about people's sexual orientation, sexual practices, personal decisions about their lives. We're talking strictly about public behavior."

Argument is fine, he says, as long as amenities are observed. "I think the old rules of the Senate are enormously important, which is to begin the conversation with 'My honorable colleague' and then rip him apart." □

In America

BOB HERBERT

Cheap Justice

Ahh, the attorneys' fees. Let's see, in the post-O. J. universe we've had Oprah vs. the cattlemen in Texas, Bill Gates vs. the Justice Department in Washington, the endlessly blossoming tobacco litigation, and Bill Clinton and his cronies against the world. It's a fabulously prosperous time for lawyers who are at the top of their game. Sometimes you can calculate the fees in the millions; sometimes, incredibly, in the billions.

Oprah and the others will tell you it is money well spent. If you've got the bucks to hire a good lawyer, you've got a good chance of being treated fairly by the courts, of getting justice.

But let's say you're in some sort of trouble and you have approximately no money. What then?

Stephen Bright, the director of the Southern Center for Human Rights in Atlanta, has been looking at the quality of legal representation received by indigent defendants in criminal cases, which are the only cases in which you have a right to a lawyer. He summed up his findings as follows: "If you're the average poor person you are going to be herded through the criminal justice system about like an animal is herded through the stockyards."

Guilty? Innocent? Who cares? Keep them dogies movin'.

Because of the refusal of many jurisdictions to pay for competent counsel, poor defendants in extraordinary serious situations — sometimes with their lives on the line — often find themselves represented by drunks, incompetents, crooks and clowns.

Hamburger flippers at McDonald's are paid more than some court-appointed lawyers. In Virginia, lawyers are paid a maximum fee of \$265 for representing indigent defendants in felony cases that carry a sentence of up to 20 years, and \$575 if the potential sentence is 20 years or more. That includes cases of first-degree murder, although Virginia allows a bit more compensation if it's a death penalty case.

Try to imagine the O. J. Simpson case in the hands of a lawyer who was paid a flat fee of \$575.

Even in capital cases, lawyers in many jurisdictions are paid a pittance. As Mr. Bright noted, "An Alabama lawyer who spends 500 hours preparing for a death penalty trial will be paid \$4 an hour."

Mr. Bright is aware of what can happen in such cases. John Benn, the 72-year-old court-appointed lawyer in

a death penalty case in Houston, slept through the testimony of several witnesses. A reporter for *The Houston Chronicle* wrote: "His mouth kept falling open and his head lolled back on his shoulders, and then he awakened just long enough to catch himself and sit upright. Then it happened again. And again. And again."

Mr. Benn would later say the trial was "boring."

Mr. Bright, in a paper he prepared on the problem of legal representation for the poor, cited another case: "Wallace Fugate," he wrote, "was sentenced to death after a two-day trial in Georgia in which he was represented by a lawyer who had

Getting what you pay for.

never heard of Gregg v. Georgia, the case that upheld the current death penalty law in Georgia; Furman v. Georgia, the decision that declared the death penalty unconstitutional in 1972; or any other case."

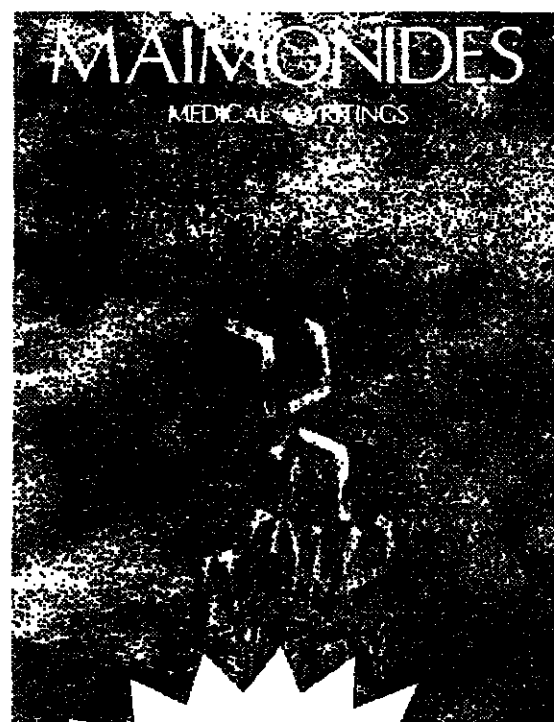
Being defended by such a lawyer, he said, "is much like being treated by a doctor who has never heard of penicillin."

Poor or not, many people accused of crimes are innocent. Without adequate legal representation they go to prison and the guilty remain free. In at least some instances, the innocent have been executed.

Nearly 35 years ago, in a case explored by my colleague Anthony Lewis in his classic book, "Gideon's Trumpet," the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that the states must supply lawyers for impoverished persons accused of serious crimes.

While the letter of that ruling has been followed, Mr. Bright is finding that the refusal of so many jurisdictions to pay for competent lawyers has undermined the court's goal of providing a fair trial for all.

"The dream of Gideon has not been realized," he said. "If we are not going to do something about this, we ought to sandblast the words 'equal justice under law' from the front of the Supreme Court building. And we ought to just say that our system of justice is like the sky box at the stadium, or membership in the country club — available only to people who can afford it." □



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THE ARTS

Paul Newman: A Reflective Star in Twilight

By DINITIA SMITH

IN A CAREER that has spanned 45 years, Paul Newman has come to embody the very word icon: his face is instantly recognizable, because of his motion pictures, of course, and because of the labels on the saucers and salad dressings that carry his name. It is a face that is almost delicate in its lines, mysteriously vulnerable, with a mouth that manages somehow to convey both sensuality and sorrow.

It is also a face that has, against the foolish expectations of the enamored, grown older. In January, Mr. Newman turned 73. On Friday, his 53d film, appropriately titled "Twilight" but wrongly rumored to be his last, opens. This is a time when such a successful movie star — especially one who is also a notable philanthropist and a successful sportsman and businessman — might honorably sit back and savor his accomplishments. Yet in a series of conversations recently, in his office in Manhattan and at his home in Westport, Conn., Mr. Newman revealed not only the aura and insight of a savvy legend but also a surprising ambivalence about his career, some doubts about his performances and a feeling that his genuine skills had sometimes been trivialized by others because of his good looks.

On a rainy day in January, a reporter had an appointment with Mr. Newman in the apartment house on the Upper East Side of Manhattan where he and his wife, Joanne Woodward, live part of the time. The reporter was early, and to avoid seeming too eager, she walked around the block a couple of times. "Don't trip," said the doorman, as if women often trip on the way to see Mr. Newman.

The last time the reporter had seen Paul Newman was more than 30 years before, when she was a teenager and he was campaigning in upstate New York for his friend Gore Vidal, who was running for Congress. Of course, he had changed. His blue eyes seemed dimmer. His hair was fluffy white. But mostly, it was the mouth that was different. It was thinner, the lips pursed.

On the other hand, Mr. Newman, who is a slender 5 feet 10 inches tall, had an immaculate look, as if he had dressed to fulfill the expectations of a visiting journalist: white-sweat-shirt, tan corduroys, white sneakers. His socks had a pink hue, maybe a laundry mistake. He is known to be color-blind.

The paneled office was filled with country furniture, needlepoint pillows and photographs — of his wife and his five daughters, of Tom Cruise, his co-star in "The Color of Money," for which he won the Academy Award for best actor in 1986. There was also a photo of a wrecked racing car with a plume of smoke coming from it. "One of my better crashes," said Mr. Newman, who has been driving professionally since 1972.

The reporter said she had watched a tape of Mr. Newman talking in 1987 to students at the Actors Studio in New York. He had spoken articulately about his craft — about timing, for instance: the actor, never the director, should always control the timing in a take (Mr. Newman has directed six films, one of them for television). He had spoken about "the Kazan transition," a trick Ella Kazan had taught him that made it easier to hold on to one emotion while making a transition to another.

Like many other people, the reporter had always thought of Mr. Newman as something of a pretty boy, she admitted, but the tape had changed that. It showed a careful, analytic mind, a keen intelligence, a dedication to the craft of acting that she hadn't expected. Does he feel that audiences and critics have overlooked this side of him? "It's been hard to be seen as just another pretty face," Mr. Newman said.

There was a note of defensiveness about his skills. "This is not a success which had little to do with a talent," he said. "But if you're just another pretty face, and if that's really the foundation your aspirations are based on, it's hard to take yourself seriously."

There has been much talk that Mr. Newman is planning to retire (after this interview, it was announced that he had signed on to play Kevin Costner's father in "Message in a Bottle," a romantic drama to be directed by Luis Mandoki). "I swear I'm going to retire from everything, and then I haven't got enough common sense to do it," Mr. Newman said. "There's a time to get in and a time to get out. Most people don't know how they're going to survive without the applause. But it's been on my mind for five or six years."

"Cary Grant was smart. He did it right. I should ask Cary Grant how to do it."

"But — isn't Cary Grant dead?" he was asked. Mr. Newman hit his forehead, then giggled. "Oh my God," he said. "I forgot."

In "Twilight," Mr. Newman enacts a role similar to his title part in the 1966 film "Harper." He is a slightly seedy private detective named Harry who is in love with a beautiful actress, played by Susan Sarandon. She is married to a dying film star (Gene Hackman), and the two em-

broil Mr. Newman in a scheme involving the disappearance of the woman's former husband many years before. The film, which also stars Stockard Channing and James Garner, is directed by Robert Benton, who directed Mr. Newman in "Nobody's Fool" (1994).

"HARRY IS a Harper that has lost a couple of big ones," Mr. Newman said. "He has found out his old tricks don't work. He's more needy. Looking for a rest. He thinks he's found it, with the blue-eyed people of 'Tonio Krüger' by Thomas Mann."

The reporter had noticed a reference to the Thomas Mann novella in another Paul Newman interview. Tonio Krüger is a would-be poet trying to escape his bourgeois background and the "blue-eyed people" who inhabit it. Like Krüger, Mr. Newman was a son from a prosperous family who longed to be an artist. Mr. Newman's father, Arthur, owned Newman-Stern, the largest sporting-goods store in the Midwest, in Cleveland.

In a sense, Mr. Newman's life has always been a tug of war between his father's expectations that he would take over the business and become a member of Cleveland's bourgeoisie and his own commitment to acting.

"I think he always thought of me as pretty much a lightweight," Mr. Newman once said of his father, who died in the early 1950's. "He treated me like he was disappointed in me, and he had every right to be. It was one of the great agonies of my life" that he could never know about his son's success as an actor.

This kind of public reflection is rare for Mr. Newman. On the surface, he has a bluff, he-man humor. He once had a wrecked Porsche delivered to the house of Robert Redford, his co-star in "Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid" (1969) and "The Sting" (1973). To this day, the two actors have a bantering relationship. "Trivialized?" said Mr. Redford when he was questioned recently about Mr. Newman. "They haven't even scratched the surface at how trivial he is. The reason he's so demanding of himself is because he has no talent!"

Kidding aside, Mr. Redford said of Mr. Newman: "He's very serious about his craft. He's very demanding of himself. That easily gets lost in the shuffle. It's just an unhappy side effect to our profession that it is so cosmetically confined." (Mr. Redford has had much the same problem.)

In fact, Mr. Newman is a deliberate, intellectual actor, precise in his methods. And indeed he has been praised for performances in numerous memorable films over five decades — especially as the pool shark in "The Hustler" (1961), as the ne'er-do-well in "Hud" (1963), as the impetuous prisoner in "Cool Hand Luke" (1967) and as the alcoholic lawyer in "The Verdict" (1982).

"Newman had never been more deserving" of an Academy Award, the critic David Thomson wrote of "The Verdict." The "winter light" got through his mask and into a raw soul.

Mr. Thomson called "The Verdict" "a tormenting picture, for it shows what Newman is capable of once his aversion to intimacy can be broken down." But like other critics, Mr. Thomson has also criticized Mr. Newman for relying too much on his looks, for having "an uneasy, self-

regarding personality, as if hand-someness had left him guilty." Mr. Newman's "smirking good humor always seemed more appropriate to glossy advertisements than to good movies," Mr. Thomson wrote.

As if to escape his image as a pretty boy, Mr. Newman turned himself into a champion race-car driver. He boasts that he is in the Guinness Book of World Records as the oldest person ever to win the Rolex 24-hour endurance race, in 1995, at Daytona Beach, Fla.

He has also turned himself into a philanthropist of major proportions, giving away \$90 million over the last 10 years. His Hole-in-the Wall camps for children with serious illnesses now number five. And with his food company, Newman's Own, which he owns with his friend the writer A. E. Hotchner, he is finally a successful businessman like his father. "I understand the romance of business," Mr. Newman said, "and the cut-throat nature of it, the consuming kind of ambition to make it bigger."

Mr. Newman has long been active in Democratic Party politics. He was a Eugene McCarthy delegate to the tumultuous 1968 Democratic Party convention. In 1978, President Jimmy Carter made him a delegate to a



Paul Newman as a private detective on his last legs in "Twilight."

United Nations General Assembly session on disarmament. And he is a part owner, along with Mr. Redford and others, of The Nation, for which he has written a couple of columns on political issues.

He is also, only recently, for the first time a grandfather. "He has an extraordinary disposition," Mr. Newman boasted of his 20-month-old grandson, Peter Elkind, the son of his daughter Melissa. "He's got a generous personality — I got him to play the guitar."

IN A WAY, this is the life Mr. Newman might have been expected to lead. He was born in 1925 in Cleveland. His father was of German-Jewish descent, his mother, Theresa, a Roman Catholic of Hungarian background, who converted to Christianity. Mr. Newman considers himself Jewish, he has said, "because being Jewish is more demanding." He has an older brother, Arthur, who serves on the city council in Rancho Mirage, Calif.

Mr. Newman said that he had idolized his father as a figure of moral rectitude but that they had had a distant relationship. He likes to describe his youth as misspent. "There wasn't a time when I wasn't working on carburetors and on short skirts," he said.

After graduating from Shaker Heights High School, he served in the Pacific during World War II as a radioman third class in the Navy Air Corps, though he was never involved in fighting. At Kenyon College, Mr. Newman was a self-styled rabble-rouser.

He married Jacqueline Witte, with whom he had three children. He had just begun a career as an actor in regional theater in the Midwest when his father died and he was called back to manage the family business. He hated the work, and in 1951 the company was sold. Mr. Newman enrolled in the Yale School of Drama, majoring in directing, but he didn't graduate. He had small parts in early television shows, including "You Are There," in which, draped in a toga, he played Socrates and Aristotle, among other figures.

In 1952, he got a role in William Inge's "Picnic" on Broadway, where he met Ms. Woodward, who was an understudy. In 1958, after his divorce from Ms. Witte, he and Ms. Woodward were married.

Mr. Newman honed his craft at the Actors Studio, where he was a classmate of Ms. Woodward, Marlon Brando, James Dean and Geraldine Page. In 1954, Warner Brothers offered him a contract to come to Hollywood.

He is most critical of himself when he speaks of his early work. Of his first stage appearances, he said: "I was just a rank beginner. I got by on looks and energy."

"I can't look at the early movies," Mr. Newman continued. Of his first film, a 1954 epic about Rome called "The Silver Chalice," he said, "I was stuck with a cocktail skirt, and Nero got to wear an evening gown."

"Until eight or nine years ago, it wasn't organic," he added. "You could see the machinery going. I had a terrible affliction: emotional Republicanism. I never knew how to work on loosening up the machine, so that when you call on something, it's there for you. How to make all those colors available? It's like learning how to play the violin or shoot pool."

In "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof" (1958), "the machinery of the acting was very much in evidence," he said. And in "The Hustler," Mr. Newman said, "You can still see the machinery going."

With "Hud," Mr. Newman said, he was "getting to be more comfortable." In that film, Mr. Newman plays an amoral womanizer in conflict with a powerful, ethical father (Melvyn Douglas). When the family's cattle herd is found to be diseased, the Newman character wants to sell the herd before the infection is confirmed, but his father orders the cattle killed. With its echoes of the father-son relationship in Mr. New-

man's own life, this seemed like an ideal role for Mr. Newman.

But in the end, he believes he failed in "Hud" too. His performance there, he said, was "a big mistake." "I wanted Hud to have all the external graces," he said, "to be lean, hungry, a great brawler, a swordsman, a rascal in the most enjoyable sense — and rotten to the core. What the audience bought was all the external graces. The fact is, he was rotten. But he became a folk hero. We wanted him to be Richard III."

Shaking his head, Mr. Newman went on to dismiss his performance in "Harper" as "tidy." What about "Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid"? "Not memorable," he said.

Only with "The Verdict," in 1982, did he begin to hit his stride, he said. "It is foremost among the contenders" for his favorite role. Another favorite role is that of Mr. Bridge, the proper, contained Midwestern businessman in the 1990 Merchant Ivory film "Mr. and Mrs. Bridge," in which he starred with Ms. Woodward. "Joanne says, 'That's the real you,'" Mr. Newman said.

He has appeared with Ms. Woodward in 11 films and directed her in

5, including "Rachel, Rachel," which was nominated for the Oscar for best picture in 1968.

"It's amazing we could work together," Ms. Woodward said recently, in their Manhattan apartment, on the 15th floor above Central Park. "I find it impossible to talk about acting. It's like sex: you should do it and not talk about it. But he has a very clear, methodical way in which he works. He does a great deal of research, and he's a wonderful script person; he knows what works and what doesn't."

Ms. Woodward's career has largely been overshadowed by her husband's. "It wasn't always easy to accept," said Ms. Woodward. "It's not a lot of fun being chased by photographers — in my case being knocked aside."

While Mr. Newman was on location, she often stayed home to take care of their children. "She made some hard choices," their youngest daughter, Clea, said. "She tried to keep us a family."

Mr. Newman acknowledges that his marriage has not always been easy. "We have had long, really difficult times, but we have enough love and respect," he said. "We're lustily respectful, respectfully lustful."

The Newmans' friend Stewart Stern, who wrote "Rebel Without a Cause" and "Rachel, Rachel," depicts the Newman marriage as eternally romantic. "He gave her his electrocardiogram for Christmas," he said.

The couple's oldest daughter, Nell, works for Newman's Own. Melissa is a painter and a singer. Clea is the director of Pegasus, an organization that uses horses to help children with disabilities. Mr. Newman's daughters by his first marriage are Stephanie, who works for the Department of Social Services in Vermont, and Susan, who produces public-service films and audiotapes for children. In 1978, Mr. Newman's only son, Scott, his first child with Ms. Witte, died from an accidental overdose of drugs and alcohol.

Mr. Newman never discusses his son's death. "Scott was a big, handsome and outgoing man," said Mr. Hotchner. "He felt the burden of being Paul Newman's son. Paul knew he had a problem, and saw him as much as he could. When Scott died, from then on he devoted more time" to his other children.

Mr. Newman acknowledges that

he hasn't been a perfect parent. "I was probably really distant," he said. "I hadn't learned how to connect. The process of really connecting is very long and painful for me."

THESE DAYS, Mr. Newman spends most of his time at the gray-shingled house in Westport. Like the New York apartment, the house is both elegant and homey, with equestrian prints on the walls and antique pine furniture. "I have come home to roost," he said, sitting in the study of the house. For the most part, he can walk the streets of Westport undisturbed.

Still, Mr. Newman's friend Mr. Stern said: "The ornament misses the acclaim. In Chicago, we were walking through a blizzard. He said: 'Oh God, I love this town. Think how far we've come and nobody has stopped me.' But Paul, I said, 'We haven't passed anyone for 14 blocks.'"

After the interview in Westport, Mr. Newman offered a lift to the train station, "so we can talk longer," he said. He drives a souped-up Volvo, a car that his friend the actor James Naughton describes as "delicate — it should've come with its own flatbed truck."

It was a chill day in Westport, and the streets were deserted. As Mr. Newman drove to the station, he was asked what he would do next. Is he going to direct again? "If I ever get this thing written," he said.

"This thing" is a script that has already gone through several writers. The movie is "an 1867 road show, in a wagon — sort of a western." "Nobody wants to do it," Mr. Newman said. "There must be something that doesn't work about it."

AS HE spoke, there was a snapping sound. The car came to a sudden stop on the side of the road. "Oh my God!" he said. The clutch pedal had broken and fallen to the floor of the car. "We'll have to walk."

The two proceeded to trudge half a mile down the road to the train station. "I'll call someone to come get the car," Mr. Newman said.

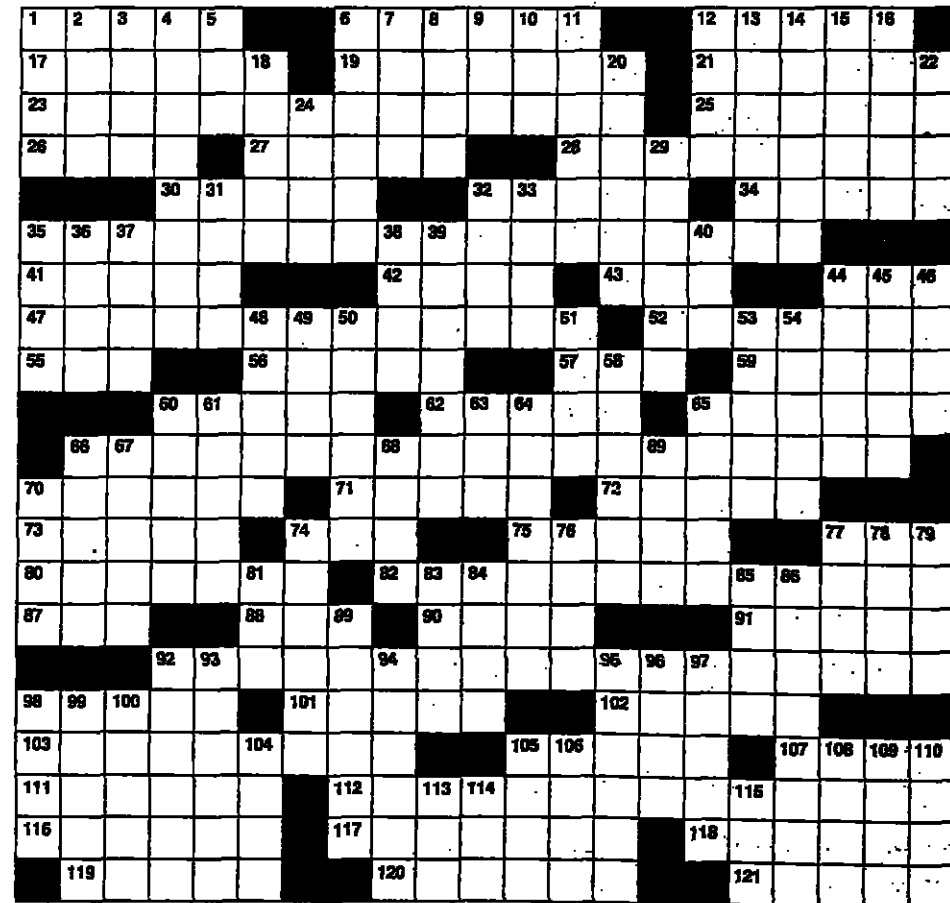
A few minutes later, he could be spied from the platform of the Westport train station. He was going in and out of stores, looking for a

POETIC INJUSTICE

BY CATHY MILLHAUSER / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

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Joe Miller 1:50

Mideast defenders of Garaudy

Fevered opposition to the threatened Anglo-American military strike against Iraq masked another spasm of passion that has gripped the Arab world over the past month.

The focus of that passion was the unlikely figure of an 85-year-old French intellectual, writer and politician, Roger Garaudy.

Based on the conventional script, the former left-wing deputy speaker of the French National Assembly should now be basking in the adoration of Left Bank literary salons, the lionized hero of Parisian cafe society.

Instead, the Marxist-turned-Moslem was convicted by a Paris court on Friday on charges of contesting crimes against humanity — specifically Holocaust denial — and fined 120,000 French francs, about \$20,000. (The maximum penalty was a \$50,000 fine and one year's imprisonment.)

Garaudy's trial stemmed from his 1996 book, *Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* (Founding Myths of Israeli Politics) in which he denies the existence of Nazi gas chambers and claims that the number of Jews killed by the Nazis was grossly exaggerated in order to justify and strengthen the Zionist cause.

Garaudy asserted that Hitler's killing of Jews was indeed "massacres," but said it was an exaggeration to term the Nazi crimes "genocide" or a "Holocaust." He dismissed claims that six million Jews had perished. Such sentiments are illegal under France's 1990 Gayssot law, which outlaws expressions of Nazi revisionism.

GARAUDY, whose political path has taken him from Stalinism through Christianity to Islam, might have been dismissed as just another crackpot.

What sets him apart, however, is that his book not only prompted debate in France but also sparked a powerful wave of support throughout the Arab world — not least among those who are involved in negotiations, have established formal ties, or even signed full-blown peace treaties with Israel.

"Garaudy, all of Palestine is with you," proclaimed banners unfurled outside the French Cultural Center in Gaza, where 70 Palestinian professors, religious leaders and journalists rallied in protest against Garaudy's trial.

The head of the Palestinian Journalists' Syndicate, Naim Tubasi, rallied against French law, which, he said, "criminalizes all those who doubt the Zionist tale of the victims of the Holocaust." At the same time the Palestinian Writers Association expressed solidarity with Garaudy for "his courageous fight for creative freedom."

In Beirut, a group of seven leading Lebanese lawyers volunteered to defend Garaudy, while Beirut Bar Association president Antoine Klimos declared that "it is unacceptable that freedom of opinion be treated as a crime" and Lebanon's Union of Arab Journalists called on "Arab intellectuals to rally [for Garaudy], who had the courage to divulge Zionist lies."

Not to be outdone, Egypt's Arab Lawyers' Union dispatched a five-man legal delegation to Paris to offer support during the trial.

In the event, Garaudy was defended by Maître Jacques Vergès, whose reputation rests on

Among the most fevered supporters of the man just convicted in France on charges of denying the Holocaust are Palestinian, Jordanian, Egyptian and other Arab intellectuals. Some have even collected funds for his defense, Douglas Davis reports



Palestinian intellectuals demonstrate in Gaza last month on behalf of Holocaust denier Roger Garaudy, who converted to Islam.



Riot police stand ready at Paris's hall of justice where Jewish activists clashed with Garaudy supporters after Friday's ruling.

his defense of Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie and, more recently, the international terrorist Illich Ramirez Sanchez, also known as "Carlos the Jackal."

Jordan's 12 opposition political parties issued a statement criticizing the trial — "a theatrical farce" — and claimed that "Zionists have

fabricated the falsehoods about the extermination of the Jews in Germany to mislead the world and blackmail Western governments and society into supporting the 'Zionists' plots against mankind and the Palestinian people."

Also in Jordan, the Arab Organization for Human Rights

Banners outside Gaza's French Cultural Center read 'Garaudy, all of Palestine is with you.' Jordan's 12 opposition parties termed the trial 'a theatrical farce.' In Egypt Garaudy got a hero's welcome from religious and intellectual leaders

issued a statement supporting Garaudy's "freedom in everything he has said and written... His is an opinion and political position adopted by many intellectuals and historians."

In the Gulf, when the United Arab Emirates daily *Al-Haleef* published a front-page appeal to its readers to send donations and messages of support to Garaudy, the paper was inundated with mes-

sages — including one from the wife of UAE leader Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahayan, who stumped up a cash gift of \$50,000 to cover the maximum fine Garaudy could face (the French prosecution waived demands for a jail term).

In another Gulf Arab state, Qatar, a Garaudy Support Committee collected donations, while the Qatar Women's Youth Organization sent messages of solidarity.

And in Syria, where Garaudy was last year treated to an audience with Foreign Minister Farouk Shara, Grand Mufti Sheikh Ahmad Kaftaro lobbied in a message of "total support," declaring Garaudy to be "a freethinker who does not compromise his principles."

BUT NOWHERE has Garaudy's star shone more brightly than in Egypt, where he visited recently as guest of Egyptian Minister of Culture Farouk Hosni to lecture and participate in symposiums associated with the annual Cairo Book Fair. Garaudy was treated to a hero's welcome from religious and intellectual leaders. "Every Moslem should support Garaudy's thought and stand with all cultural, religious and diplomatic efforts," declared Egypt's highest religious authority, Grand Mufti Nasr Farid Wasel. "It is a duty to defend him and stand by his side."

Garaudy did not disappoint his hosts.

"Under France's freedom of speech you can attack President Jacques Chirac, or even the Pope. But when you criticize Israel you are lost," he told a seminar organized by Egypt's Ministry of Culture. "This is because media in the West is 95 percent controlled by the Zionists."

Explained Amina Rashid, who lectures in French literature at Cairo University: "This warm welcome for Garaudy is a result of his sound and clear position against Israel and America and his support for the Palestinians."

Some Egyptians accused the West of double standards in trying Garaudy while protecting British author Salman Rushdie, whose novel *The Satanic Verses* angered Moslems and prompted the late Iranian leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, to issue a fatwa against him.

Interviewed recently by an uncharacteristically sycophantic *Al-Ahram*, Garaudy told the semi-official Cairo daily that he was aware that his book "overstepped many red lines, and that its content was a violation of the oppressive law that punishes anyone who criticizes the verdicts of the Nuremberg trials or questions the number of Holocaust victims."

"Consequently," he said, "I was aware that the book would anger French Zionist organizations, which control 90 percent of the media."

Added interviewer Fahmi Howaidi: "At his advanced age, one would expect a person to choose a more sedate lifestyle. The last thing one would imagine is that a person of his age would choose to remain a stubborn fighter, and that he would choose to do battle against the all-powerful Zionist organizations in the heart of Europe. But that is exactly what the man did."

Shortly after Friday's ruling, a group of Jewish activists in the Paris courtroom clashed with some Arab journalists and shouted: "Garaudy Nazi, Garaudy to jail!"

Too good to be true?

Pinch me — is this guy for real? A mayor who visits kindergartens to talk about the importance of keeping the city clean.

A mayor who personally keeps tabs on his city's 106 garbage bins, parlaying his observations into a saving of NIS 600,000.

A politician who refuses to indulge in cronyism. Who would rather sit in his predecessor's chair than spend municipal funds to buy a new one. Who doesn't make campaign promises he can't keep.

Ze'ev Bielski's delightful style of civic management won Ra'anana the Interior Ministry's prize as best-run municipality. So naturally, he took a big chunk of the NIS 1.118 million bounty and gave it to his workers as a bonus "because their work got us this prize." He spent some of it on computers for underprivileged children.

Ze'ev, as he is known around town, runs the city of Ra'anana like a family business, sensible but visionary, humble yet dynamic. And he says he loves being the mayor because he can really, really do good for his 65,000 neighbors.

Yeah, I know — he sounds like a politician. And the last thing I want to do is say nice things about a public official.

Thing is, Ze'ev is just a regular fellow who somehow found himself the most powerful man in the city, but never stopped being just a regular fellow. He's a buoyant, energetic 49-year-old economist oozing enthusiasm. He discovered The Right Way Of Doing Things during a two-year stint as an emissary in South Africa.

"I'm not a politician, actually. When it all started, I didn't want to be mayor — I just wanted to get my street paved. My neigh-

most popular mayor. • The city won a prestigious international citation for excellence in civic management. The only other Israeli city so graded was Karmiel.

THE cynically inclined (and who's to blame us?) would guess that City Hall is milking taxpayers to beef up the treasury. But Ra'anana pays the lowest *arnona* rates in the Sharon region — and the rates haven't risen in real terms for three years straight. Then how does he do it?

"We don't raise rates and taxes beyond the [cost of living] index — instead, we bring in money from more industry, more shops. And we cut expenses all the time."

"I'll give you an example. One day I was walking in the street, and I saw a 'frog' (garbage dumpster) in a neglected place. I wondered how much it costs to empty them, and I asked for a report. We have 106 frogs around town."

"I get the report and I say to myself, 'Ze'ev! Jesus Christ! Three times a day somebody is emptying this frog, but even once a week is too much!' I didn't like it."

He overhauled the system and halved the cost to NIS 600,000 yearly.

He applied his passion for efficiency throughout his empire. It used to cost NIS 450,000 a year to clean out empty lots; it's now done for NIS 150,000; he cut the cost of managing city finances from NIS 2 million a year, to NIS 600,000.

Ze'ev's eyes gleam with delight. "Y'see, I don't have to work for this money. I don't have to raise taxes."

"My greatest pleasure is when somebody comes up with a plan to save money. Our pol-

Ra'anana Mayor Ze'ev Bielski is the sort of public official people dream about

bors went to the mayor to complain, and he said, listen, I can't do it this year, maybe next year.

"So we went back to our street, and somebody said, listen, one of us should be the mayor, and then we can get our street paved. And everybody looked at me."

"I went out and met people. The best thing I did was not to make any promises — except that I would work hard, and listen, and do my best. This is an intelligent community, and they understand that before an election everybody promises the sky and the earth, but if somebody says he'll work hard, they like that."

"So, Ze'ev, did you fix your street upon becoming mayor? He laughs. "Yeah, that was one of the first things I did."

But you can't even accuse him of *protektzia*.

"In Ra'anana, within 24 hours of a complaint, it's dealt with. I get a written report every month about how fast complaints were fixed — and there are about 6,000 to 7,000 a month. Things that are behind schedule, I deal with personally."

WITH municipal elections coming up in November, it would seem that he's just trying to score points in a popularity contest. Except that he's been like this throughout his nine years as mayor, and frankly, he could spend the rest of the year vacationing in the Bahamas and still win in a landslide. Polls shows him leading his nearest competitor 70 percent to 4. He doesn't have to impress anyone.

While others are out shmoozing voters, Ze'ev will talk to people who can't even vote. "Every week I visit three or four schools and kindergartens. I sit with the children, we sing holiday songs together. I tell them how important it is that they help the mayor keep the town clean and nice. I keep in touch with the city's children on a daily basis."

His mayoral style is simple: Work hard, listen to people, be modest, set a personal example, dedicate yourself to sound economic administration. Sounds corny, eh?

It works. • Last year, Ra'anana was proclaimed the best-run municipality. The city actually met its budget for 1996, a rarity in this country.

• Ra'anana has the highest quality of life in the country's center, according to a poll by the Geocartography Institute. • Ze'evik was named Israel's

city is that if a department saves money, it stays there, and they can do more with it the following year. It's a great incentive."

Other mayors sometimes come to Ze'evik for advice. "A lot of them send staff to our various departments, like our Moked [dispatch] system, and our collection, to see how they work."

He denies that corruption is much of a problem in Israel.

"What there is, is a lot of waste. If it's public money, you know, they don't look at it the same way they look at their own money in the bank. So it becomes very easy to say 'I'll give a hundred thousand to this one, or that one.' Hundreds of millions are being wasted every year only because of coalition agreements — the cost of politics, nothing to do with reality."

COMING from a public official, this is all a bit hard to believe. Querying people in the street didn't make it easier.

One woman related that her daughter was in a traffic accident — and Ze'evik called her in hospital in Ashkelon, to see how she was doing.

Another resident, Varda Aloni, recalled that "I complained about something, they came immediately, fixed it — and the workers thanked me for bringing it to their attention. And then I got a letter from City Hall thanking me again!" Ze'evik strolls around town looking for problems to fix. If he misses something, he has a pager in his car.

"I encourage the municipal workers to inform the Moked about broken signs and lights. I get about 100 to 200 alerts a month. My child is nine years old, he knows already, he'll hear a call and say, 'Abba, listen, a light's not working!'"

He publicizes his E-mail address around town — ze'evik@raanana.org.il — and responds personally, promptly.

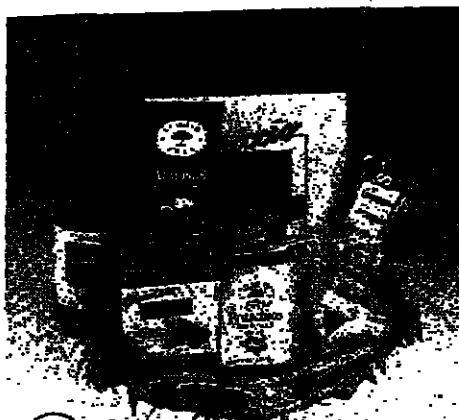
His workers know there are no fringe benefits, no *protektzia*, no unnecessary free trips, no chauffeurs, no inflated salaries. No one gets a job unless they're qualified, unless they really want to work hard to serve the city.

"That's why we get the best people. They know they got the job because they're the best, and they know they have to justify themselves every day."

I egged him on to say something negative, to give the story some credibility.

He thought for a moment, shrugged and giggled. "I don't know. Maybe I could do more."

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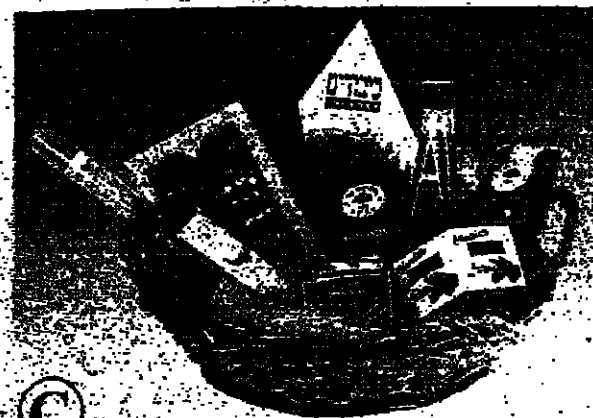
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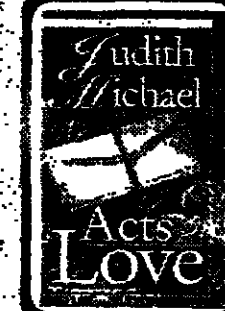
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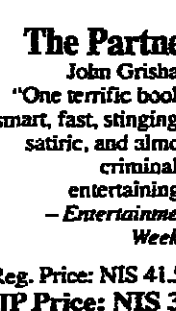
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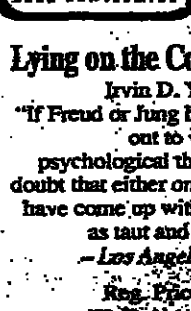
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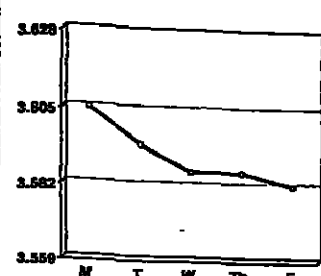
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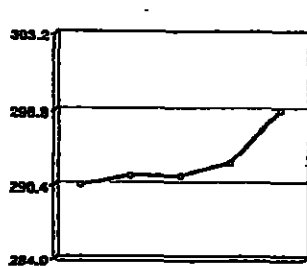
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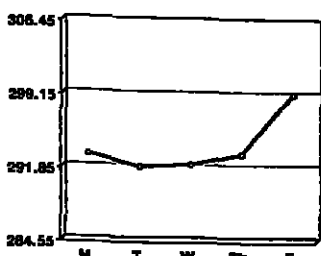


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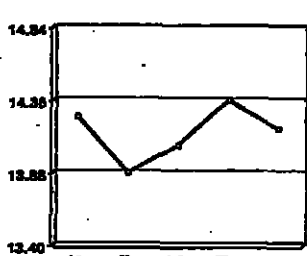
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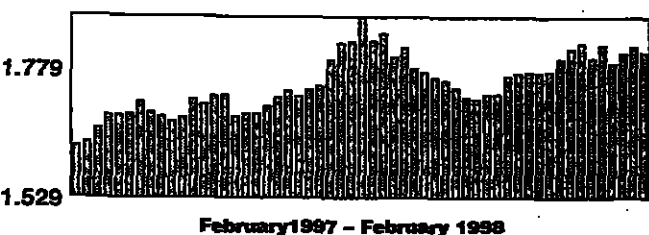


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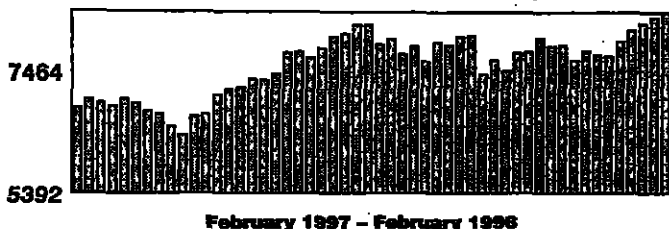
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Schachter & Namdar to buy Botswana factory

The Schachter & Namdar Group, Israel's largest diamond manufacturer, said yesterday it will purchase Lazare Kaplan International's Botswana factory for \$11.1 million. The deal is expected to close by the middle of March, subject to the approval of the local authorities.

The Botswana plant, which produces small diamonds, employs more than 500 workers. Elliot Tannenbaum, a partner at S&N, said that the company is considering the possible expansion of the factory's operations. The group already operates diamond cutting factories in Ramat Gan, New York, Johannesburg, Bangkok and Kunming, China.

Dan Gerstenfeld

Feb. forex reserve falls \$88m.

Israel's foreign currency reserves decreased by \$88 million last month, to \$21.535 billion, the Bank of Israel reported yesterday. The central bank said the decline was explained by the government repaying loans in foreign currency and banks lowering foreign currency deposits.

David Harris

Argentinian economy minister arrives

Israel will ask Argentinian Economy, Public Works, and Services Minister Roque Fernandez, who arrives today, to launch negotiations on a free trade agreement between Israel and the Mercosur trading bloc, an Industry and Trade Ministry official said.

Argentina now holds the rotating presidency of Mercosur, which is made up of Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay and has association agreements with Chile and Bolivia. It is the fourth largest trading bloc after NAFTA, the EU, and the Asian bloc. Fernandez will be accompanied by an entourage of some 30 senior officials and businessmen. The visit is to focus on strengthening bilateral ties, and a double taxation agreement will also be discussed.

Argentina is Israel's second largest trading partner in Latin America after Brazil.

Nina Gilbert

PT textile house gets Walmart contract

A Petah Tikva-based textile company, Yaffit Model, has won an initial \$1.5 million contract for the supply of sweaters and T-shirts to US retailing giant Walmart.

Company CEO Moshe Mulayim said the order is a test run, and Walmart plans to purchase another \$7m. of goods from the company later this year.

According to Mulayim, Walmart is now buying again from Israel, due to pressure in the US against selling clothing manufactured by children in developing countries and from factories that pollute the environment. Israeli textiles meet American standards and supply timetables, thus enabling the industry to again find its place in the American market, he said.

Yaffit Model, established in 1975, employs 300 workers.

Nina Gilbert

Experimental tilting train arrives

Israel Railways this weekend took delivery of an experimental tilting train to see if it is possible to reduce the journey time from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem to less than an hour. Presently the journey takes some two hours.

The two-car tilting train arrived here from German-based ADtranz. The train, based on technology developed over the last few years, is able to travel at high speed over winding tracks.

In the last five years there has been a continuous increase in number of passengers taking the train, reaching 6 million in 1997.

Sybil Ehrlich

Tadiran buys Cal. Microwave div. for \$35m.

By DAN GERSTENFELD

Tadiran, Israel's largest electronics company, said yesterday it signed an agreement to purchase the microwave networks division of California Microwave for \$35 million in cash.

Tadiran's CEO, Israel Zamir, said that the deal is part of the company's strategy to expand and establish its position as a leading international player in the radio and telecommunications fields. He added that the move will strengthen Tadiran's position in the North American market.

"This is a breakthrough for the company," Zamir said. "Until today, Tadiran had no activity in the North American civilian mar-

ket and we had no base for the expanding of our technological and marketing activities in the US."

In a statement to the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, the company said that the transaction is not expected to have a negative impact on its financial results because the purchase price is lower than the book value of the American unit's assets.

Zamir said that the activities of the microwave networks division are synergistic to those of the company. He added, however, that the unit will continue to operate as an independent subsidiary.

"At this stage we have no plans to change the company position," Tadiran's CEO said. Zamir also said that the firm intends to

continue acquiring wireless communication companies overseas.

The microwave networks division develops and manufactures radio systems for wireless microwave communication. The company produces systems for cellular phone infrastructure and had sales of \$83m. in 1997.

The company's main clients are Motorola, AT&T Corp., Bell South, GTE Corp., and Lucent Technologies.

The division has offices in England, Mexico, China, Australia, Singapore, India and the Philippines. It supplies products to cellular companies worldwide, including to Israel's Cellcom.

California Microwave is a leading suppli-

er of satellite earth stations and microwave radio equipment. The recent sale is in line with the company's plan to divest its microwave networks and satellite transmission systems divisions and concentrate instead on different segments within the market for wireless products.

Last December the company announced plans to sell its satellite transmission systems division to L-3 Communications Corp. for \$27 million in cash.

Also yesterday, Tadiran Telecommunications CEO Haim Rosen gave a check for NIS 29 million to the Industry and Trade Ministry as royalties on income generated from projects funded by the Chief Scientist's Office.



Changing of the guard

Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman (center) offers a toast during the Jerusalem ceremony yesterday at which Ben-Zion Zilberfarb (right) replaced Shmuel Slavin (left) as Treasury director-general.

(Isaac Harari)

PM: Major transport projects imminent

By DAVID HARRIS

Within the next few weeks the cabinet will discuss a series of major transportation infrastructure projects with a view to their immediate implementation. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said yesterday.

Speaking at the contract signing ceremony for the construction of the Trans-Israel Highway, Netanyahu said: "The cabinet will accelerate additional infrastructure projects particularly in transport, such as the Carmel tunnels and Ben-Gurion 2000. Furthermore, we are very soon going to introduce a program to accelerate infrastructure projects this year."

This program, according to Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman, will largely be based on the 1998 Budget Arrangements Law, passed in December. The projects will be entirely funded in the private sector, he added.

While neither man was prepared to provide details, Neeman did confirm that the railways

would form a central part of the proposals. Israel Railways is hoping to publish BOT (build, operate, and transfer) tenders for one or two lines during the course of the year.

The ministers said the Trans-Israel Highway (Route 6) is the first major infrastructure project of its kind in Israel and will be the first of many based only on private sector funding. Netanyahu said the current volume of traffic is intolerable.

"It is an unacceptable situation that the ratio between the number of cars and kilometers is the highest in the world, we must change this ratio very quickly," he said. "In infrastructure for telecommunications we are one of the top three nations in the world, yet at a time when we can move voices and images, we can't move people and goods which are the second part of the economy."

Expressing his delight at winning the contract, the president of the successful Derech Eretz consortium, John Beck, said he is hopeful that within two-and-a-half years of work

commencing this summer, the first 20-30 kilometer stage will be open for traffic.

Some 12,000 jobs will be created over the five years of construction on the 86-km. stretch. Of that total, 200 will be direct employees of Derech Eretz, with the remainder being hired via contractors. Beck estimated that the total private sector investment would amount to more than \$1 billion.

The Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel issued a statement saying the well-publicized ceremony was an attempt to portray the highway as a fact despite no contract having been signed with a franchise holder.

A bill, initiated by MK Uzi Landau (Likud) and signed by 30 MKs, calls for the project to be frozen while alternatives are discussed, although last week Coalition whip Meir Sheerit effectively prevented it from being raised when he ruled that all coalition MKs must toe the party line and vote against it, thus depriving it of a majority.

Liat Collins contributed to this report.

Standards commissioner:

Removal of standards for 180 products aimed at boosting imports, variety

By NINA GILBERT

The removal of standards requirements on some 280 products, including 160 foods, will boost imports and the variety of products in the marketplace, Grisha Deitsh, standardization commissioner in the Industry and Trade Ministry, said yesterday.

"Today, for example, the standards on pickles relate to size, uniformity and weight, among other things. This blocks imports of products and the variety of products offered by local manufacturers," he said.

Deitsh said his office will be deciding on the cancellation of standards requirements on a product-by-product basis, in discussions to be held over the next few months with kosher officials, the Israeli Consumer Council, the Histadrut consumer division, the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and the Manufacturers Association.

Under an amendment to the Standards Law passed by the Knesset in January, standards are to be required only on issues of health, safety and the environment. A ministry order is to require that consumers are informed of the contents of products.

To prepare for the changes, the ministry is to enter into a transitional period to decide on and announce which standards will not be required, beginning with food products. The changes will take effect on November 1.

The Federation of Chambers of Commerce said yesterday that the cancellation of standards requirements is long overdue.

"These peculiar Israeli standards were imposed on all imports and not local products and were non-tariff barriers. Israeli standards should be as they are in Western countries, with which Israel has trade agreements. The standards were

discrimination between local products and imports," said Yossi Tamler, head of the federation's import department.

The Manufacturers Association also welcomed the move.

"We don't support the use of standards to protect local manufacturers," said Hilik Asia.

However, he warned that the government must ensure that consumers know what they are buying so they can decide among products and differentiate between good quality and poor quality.

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MARKETS

WISDOM TV

Windies lead England by 309; South Africa struggling on 186-8

GEORGETOWN (Reuters) — West Indies had an overall lead of 309 after making 127 for nine in their second innings at the end of the third day of the fourth Test against England at Bourda yesterday. Scores: West Indies 352 and 127 for nine, England 170.

Ahmed bowls Pakistan to a strong position. Leg spinner Mushtaq Ahmed bowled Pakistan to a strong position in the second cricket Test against South Africa yesterday at Durban.

Ahmed took 6-66 in 35 unchanged overs to leave South Africa struggling on 186 for eight after being set 255 runs to win.

Earlier, Pakistan resuming the second innings on 222 for eight was bowled out for 226, the innings lasting just eight balls in nine minutes.

The South African second innings crumbled as fast as the Kingsmead pitch and only a stubborn ninth wicket stand has stopped Pakistan of wrapping up the test inside four days.

Mark Boucher and No.10 Fanie

de Villiers have stage a minor recovery rescuing the side from a precariously placed 133 for eight.

The two have put on 53 runs in 59 minutes and have benefited from two dropped catches and a half chance.

Both batsmen were dropped in successive overs as Pakistan let the home side off the hook.

Bad light stopped play seven overs short when the two umpires Mervyn Kitchen and Dave Orchard offered the light to the two batsmen as Pakistan took the second new ball.

Boucher has so far scored with 36 while de Villiers was on 26 and South Africa need another 68 runs to go one up in the three-match series.

Ahmed was outstanding in his post-lunch session spell as he broke the backbone of South Africa's victory hopes.

Operating on a wicket that was getting increasingly spin friendly, 27-year-old Ahmed claimed 4-19 in 15 overs to turn the home side's victory chase into a battle for survival.

Gary Kirsten and Jacques Kallis put on 40 for the second wicket but as soon Ahmed was introduced neither looked comfortable.

Kirsten was eventually put out of his misery when he was caught by substitute Rashid Latif at silly-point for 25. First of Ahmed's six victims, and the 150th of his Test career, Kirsten had struggled for 104 minutes.

Kallis edged a leg side catch to way, he got a faint touch and 'keeper Moin Khan held the catch. Kallis's 22 has taken 113 minutes.

Hilton Ackerman was trapped leg before by top spinner for 11. Hudson fell in trying to hit his way out of trouble and only succeeded in hitting a catch to Fazal-e-Akbar at deep mid-off and South Africa was struggling on 79 for five.

Shaun Pollock, South Africa's bowling hero with 6-50 in Pakistan's second innings took the attack to the Pakistanis with a 38-ball 30 runs.

Pollock threatened briefly with Hansie Cronje in a 35-run sixth wicket stand.



RECHECK - Pakistani bowler Mushtaq Ahmed makes an appeal during Test match with South Africa. (Reuters)

Olazabal wins in Dubai

DUBAI (AP) — Fighting a serious bout of flu, coughing fits and a swirling sandstorm, Spain's Jose Maria Olazabal came from behind to capture the Dubai Desert Classic title yesterday.

Winning by three shots with a brilliant 4-under-par 68 in the final round, Olazabal walked away with the \$221,000 first prize after he almost withdrew on Friday.

"It's absolutely fantastic," said an overwhelmed Olazabal. "I'm shocked because of what I have done. I felt bad, really bad and the first two days were obviously the worst. Every single muscle ached."

"I haven't been able to eat any solids since Wednesday and survived on yogurts, fruit juices and tea," said the 32-year-old Spaniard, who said it was his best win since the 1994 US Masters.

The Spaniard, who made a comeback here last year after a career-threatening foot injury sidelined him for 18 months, began the day three shots behind leader Robert Karlsson of Sweden. Karlsson faded on the back nine after staying in front for the early part of the final round on the par-72 Emirates Golf Club course.

Olazabal clinched victory with birdies on the 17th and 18th.

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Messier fourth to reach 1,600 points milestone

VANCOUVER (AP) — Mark Messier scored two goals and assisted on a third to reach his 1,600th point in his 19th NHL season.

Messier also scored two goals, including one on a penalty shot, in the third period and assisted on a fourth goal to lead the Canucks to a 4-0 victory over the Ottawa Senators on Sunday night.

Messier tied the game 3-3 in the third period. The Canucks took a 4-3 lead in the fourth.

Messier took the puck away from the Senators' goalie, Damian Rhodes, and cut around two defenders to whip a backhand shot past Rhodes.

Messier's goal gave the Canucks a 4-3 lead. Bure sealed the victory by beating Rhodes with a penalty shot.

Messier's goal was the 18th of the season for Messier, who joined the Canucks as a free agent last summer.

Messier is the league's leading scorer, currently with 276 points. The two other players to reach the 1,600-point milestone were Gordie Howe, who finished his career with 1,850 points, and Marcel Dionne (1,771).

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Bruins 6, Penguins 2
P.J. Axelsson scored a breakaway goal just 16 seconds into the game and Boston added two more first period goals from Dmitri Krut'nikov and Ray Bourque to win at home.

Boston goaltender Byron Dufour stopped 21 shots and evened his record at 19-19-9 with the win. Dufour has allowed nine goals in his last six games.

Tom Barrasso started his 15th straight game for the Penguins, but was replaced by Ken Wregget midway through the third period after allowing five goals on 17 shots.

Stars 4, Coyotes 0
Ed Belfour got his eighth shutout of the season, and Jamie Langenbrunner and Grant Marshall scored two goals each to lead Dallas to a home victory.

Belfour had to stop only 13 shots for his 39th career shutout, and the Stars killed off nine power plays. Belfour already had broken the previous franchise record of six in a season, set by Cesare Maniago.

Blues 5, Kings 2
Geoff Courtnall and Pierre Turgeon scored the tying and go-ahead goals 10 seconds apart late in the second period and defenseman Steve Duchesne got his 200th NHL goal as St. Louis Blues won on the road.

The Blues, 0-9 on the power play in Thursday night's 3-1 loss at San Jose, scored three times with the man advantage as they ended Los Angeles' five-game unbeaten streak and six-game home winning streak.

Pavel Demitra and Jim Campbell each had a goal and two assists for St. Louis and Courtnall also had a pair of assists.

Goaltender Jamie McLennan got the victory in place of Grant Fuhr, who underwent surgery Saturday in St. Louis to repair torn knee cartilage in his right knee and is expected to miss at least four weeks.

Blackhawks 4, Avalanche 0
Jeff Hackett stopped 33 shots for his sixth shutout of the season and 12th of his career as Chicago ended a three-game losing streak by winning on the road.

Five of Hackett's six shutouts have been on the road. The Avalanche, the last NHL team to be blanked this year, hadn't been shut out since March 23, 1997. Colorado had its five-game winning streak snapped.

Lightning 5, Capitals 2
Tampa Bay scored five goals on 22 shots and Mark Fitzpatrick made 35 saves as the Lightning ended a 10-game home losing streak.

Paul Ysebaert had a pair of goals

and a pair of assists.

Goaltender Jamie McLennan got the victory in place of Grant Fuhr, who underwent surgery Saturday in St. Louis to repair torn knee cartilage in his right knee and is expected to miss at least four weeks.

Devils 4, Hurricanes 3
Doug Gilmour scored with 7.4 seconds remaining as host New

Jersey extended its unbeaten streak to 6-0-1.

Sheldon Souray, Scott Niedermayer and Bobby Holik also scored for New Jersey.

Keith Primeau scored twice for Carolina, and Gary Roberts added a goal as the Hurricanes two-game unbeaten streak came to an end.

Maple Leafs 4, Canadiens 0
Fredrik Modin scored one goal and assisted on two others, and Felix Potvin stopped 26 shots for his fourth shutout of the season.

Goaltender Scott Baerlin, Todd Warriner and Steve Sullivan also scored for Toronto, which beat Montreal at home for the first time in more than five years.

The Maple Leafs honored former captain George Armstrong and the late Charlie Conacher in a

pregame ceremony by raising Armstrong's No. 10 and Conacher's No. 9 to the rafters.

Armstrong played 20 seasons for the Leafs and won four Stanley

Cups, captaining Toronto to its last Cup victory in 1967.

Conacher played nine seasons for Toronto and won the Cup in 1932.

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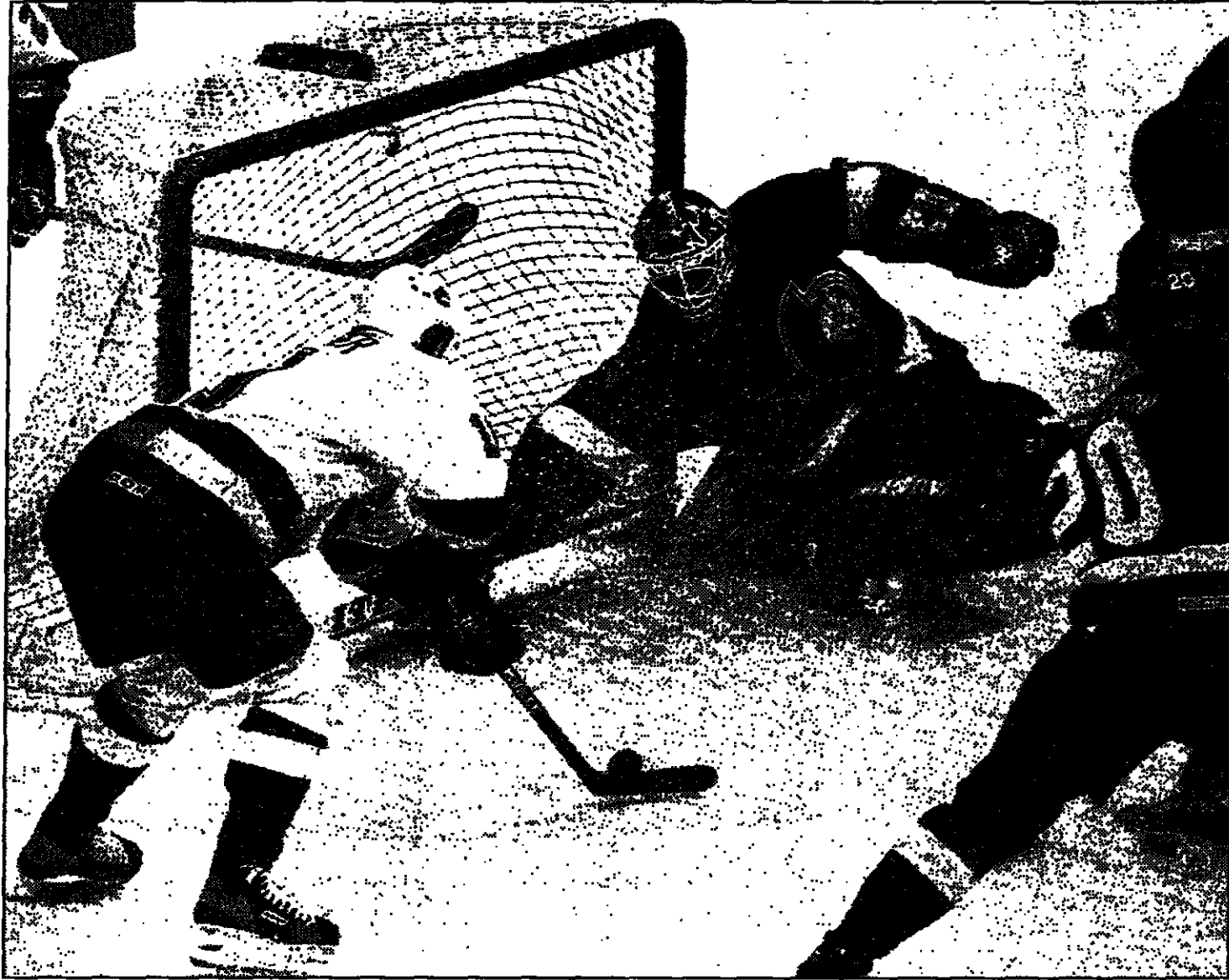
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Armstrong played 20 seasons for the Leafs and won four Stanley

Cups, captaining Toronto to its last Cup victory in 1967.

Conacher played nine seasons for Toronto and won the Cup in 1932.

Armstrong played 20 seasons for the Leafs and won four Stanley



NEW HEIGHTS — Canucks' Mark Messier uses a backhand to put the puck past Senators goalie Damian Rhodes to reach 1,600 NHL career points. Vancouver won 6-4.

as the Lightning won at home for the first time in 1998.

Oilers 4, Sharks 1
Curtis Joseph, in his first start since returning from the Winter Olympics, had 26 saves as host Edmonton took over sole possession of the final playoff spot in the Western Conference.

The win, before a sold-out crowd of 17,099, put the Oilers one point ahead of the Sharks and three up on the Anaheim Mighty Ducks in the conference race.

Scoring for Edmonton were Dan McGillis, Roman Hamrlik, Doug Weight and Rem Murray, while Jeff Friesen had the lone goal for the Sharks, who were 0-for-10 on the power play.

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Maple Leafs 4, Canadiens 0
Fredrik Modin scored one goal and assisted on two others, and Felix Potvin stopped 26 shots for his fourth shutout of the season.

Goaltender Scott Baerlin, Todd Warriner and Steve Sullivan also scored for Toronto, which beat Montreal at home for the first time in more than five years.

The Maple Leafs honored former captain George Armstrong and the late Charlie Conacher in a

pregame ceremony by raising Armstrong's No. 10 and Conacher's No. 9 to the rafters.

Armstrong played 20 seasons for the Leafs and won four Stanley

Cups, captaining Toronto to its last Cup victory in 1967.

Conacher played nine seasons for Toronto and won the Cup in 1932.

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Heat rally to win ninth straight

EAST RUTHERFORD (AP) — Alonzo Mourning scored 11 of his 28 points in the fourth quarter Saturday as the Miami Heat rallied from a 20-point third-quarter deficit to win their ninth straight game, 95-93 over the New Jersey Nets.

The victory was Miami's ninth in a row on the road. The Heat have now won 13 of 14 overall.

Miami, which entered the fourth quarter trailing 78-63, won it with-out Tim Hardaway, who was ejected after receiving two technical fouls with 4:51 to play in the third period.

Mavericks 103, Wizards 77
Michael Finley scored 27 points and A.C. Green had a season-high 25 points and 11 rebounds in Dallas' road rout.

The Mavericks, winning for just the 11th time in 57 games this season, handed Washington its worst defeat of the season.

Bulls 109, Kings 94
Scottie Pippen scored a season-high 29 points and Dennis Rodman grabbed 18 rebounds in his return to the starting lineup as Chicago won at home.

Hornets 90, Magic 80
Anthony Mason had 24 points and 13 rebounds as host Charlotte pulled away from Orlando leading 73-69 with 7:50 left in the game, the Hornets scored nine straight points over the next four minutes, led by Mason with a slam dunk and a three-point play. The burst effectively put the game out of reach.

All five starters scored in double figures for the Hornets, who won their fourth straight. Glen Rice had 17 points, followed by David Wesley with 15, Bobby Phillips 13 and Matt Geiger 12.

Derek Harper paced the Magic with 20 points, Charles Outlaw added 16 and David Benoit 15.

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EASTERN CONFERENCE

Atlantic Division
New Jersey 37 16 6 80 169 116
Philadelphia 30 17 9 69 163 124
Washington 26 21 11 63 161 152
N.Y. Rangers 18 25 16 52 146 159
N.Y. Islanders 20 20 8 48 144 164
Pittsburgh 18 29 12 48 144 164
Toronto 18 29 12 48 144 164

Central Division
Pittsburgh 30 17 9 69 163 124
Houston 26 21 11 63 161 152
Boston 24 22 12 48 144 164
Buffalo 22 21 14 58 146 141
Ottawa 23 27 10 56 136 151
Carolina 21 30 7 49 142 165

Northwest Division
Pittsburgh 30 17 9 69 163 124
Houston 26 21 11 63 161 152
Boston 24 22 12 48 144 164
Buffalo 22 21 14 58 146 141
Ottawa 23 27 10 56 136 151
Carolina 21 30 7 49 142 165

Western Conference
Central Division
Dallas 38 13 8 84 182 116
Detroit 32 15 8 77 181 138
St. Louis 31 22 8 70 179 159
Phoenix 24 25 11 59 164 170
Chicago 23 26 9 55 142 140
San Jose 20 30 8 48 137 169

Pacific Division
Colorado 31 14 16 78 179 144
Los Angeles 27 21 10 64 171 156
Edmonton 21 29 10 52 150 131
San Jose 22 29 7 51 143 157
Anaheim 20 29 9 49 143 176
Vancouver 18 33 9 45 168 213
Calgary 16 30 12 44 153 182

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St. Louis 31 22 8 70 179 159
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CRITICS' CHOICE

CLASSICAL MUSIC

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

Martin Fischer-Dieskau leads the Israel Sinfonietta Beersheba in Mozart's 28th Symphony and Stravinsky's *Pulcinella* suite while Shmuel Ashkenazy plays the Beethoven Violin Concerto Saturday, tonight in Beersheba, tomorrow at the Tel Aviv Museum, Wednesday in Kfar Sava and Saturday at the Henry Crown Symphony Hall in Jerusalem (8:30).

DANCE

HELEN KAYE

Spain's Mario Maya and his flamenco company continue their tribute to the great Spanish poet with *The Flamenco Dance and Sing Lorca*, Maya, who started his dancing career in Granada at 13, has won numerous prizes for his choreography. Last show tonight at the Mann Auditorium at 9.

CINEMA

ADINA HOFFMAN

*** JOHN GRISHAM'S THE RAINMAKER - As the title makes clear, this film is A. Grisham: in other words, a morality play about an idealistic rookie of a Southern attorney (Matt Damon this time around) who battles the corrupt and almighty powers that be (an evil insurance company) in his selfless pursuit of justice (payment of medical costs to the family of a young man dying of leukemia). For all its familiar elements, though, the picture sits differently from earlier movie adaptations of the writer's work. It's a looser, funnier, and more realistic affair and one that avoids for the most part the usual Grisham-esque descent into violent outlandishness. After a sluggish introductory sec-



Martin Fischer-Dieskau conducts Mozart and Stravinsky in Beersheba.

tion in which director Francis Ford Coppola seems to be poking around for the right tone, the film hits its stride and turns into a comedy - a courtroom farce on a serious theme. With smart narration by the journalist Michael Herr and fine performances by Danny DeVito, Jon Voight, Micky Rourke, Mary Kay Place and many others. (Parental guidance strongly advised.)

TV

CHANNEL 1 (11)

8:30 News Flash
8:35 News in Arabic
8:45 Good Morning Israel

EDUCATIONAL TV (11)

8:00 Miraculous
8:30 Dites Moi Tout
9:00 Reading
9:25 Society
9:55 English
10:00 Programs for the young
11:00 History
11:45 Literature
12:15 Science
13:15 Medicine
Without Mystery
13:30 Animation
15:00 Musical Fantasies
Saturdays Daydream
15:05 No Secrets

MIDDLE EAST TV (24/27)

14:00 TV Shop
14:30 Body Electric
15:00 Basic Training
15:30 The 700 Club
16:00 Larry King
17:00 Flying House
17:25 Wishes
17:45 No Bed and Me
18:10 Wait Till You Have Kids
18:35 Saved by the Bell
18:50 Showbiz
19:00 World News Tonight
20:00 NHL Hockey: Pittsburgh vs Buffalo
20:30 The 700 Club
23:30 CNN

CHANNEL 1 (11)

15:00 Super Ben and Zap
15:35 Rocky Yacoby
16:00 Mystery Line
16:25 Super Ben
16:30 Wolves, Witches and Gargis
16:50 A New Evening
17:24 Zap
18:15 News in English

ARABIC PROGRAMS

18:30 Sport
19:00 News

HEBREW PROGRAMS

18:30 News Flash
19:00 News
19:25 Israel Music
19:55 Film on the Street
20:00 News
20:45 Popolita
21:15 This Is Your Life
21:30 Repeat of the 1989 presentation with legendary international goalkeeper Yitzhak Hodorov. An all-time soccer line-up includes greats of the 1980s - Nahum Stalmach, Amos Avnion and Moshe Shalev.
22:00 Doctor Common
22:45 Film on the Street
23:30 News
00:00 Verse of the Day

CHANNEL 2 (22)

5:45 Today's Programs
5:55 On the Edge of the Shell
6:00 Yo Yogi
6:30 Rainbow Children
6:45 The Little Prince
6:55 Princess Daisy
10:50 Dynasty
11:40 The New Gull
12:20 Israel Music
12:35 Bonnie
13:00 Boogies Diner
13:30 Open Cards
14:00 Home and Away
14:30 The Bold and the Beautiful
17:00 Five with Rafi
17:30 Chicago's Grit
18:00 Roseanne
18:32 Walker, Texas Ranger
18:55 Bat Yam - New York
20:00 News
20:30 First In
20:45 Murphy Brown
22:00 On the Table with Dan Margalit
22:30 Chicago Hope
00:00 News
00:30 Doctor Zhivago - all-star epic love story spanning decades of Russian history. With Omar Sharif, Julie Christie, Tom Courtenay, Geraldine Chaplin and Rod Taylor
22:45 Anything but Love - comedy series with Jamie Lee Curtis and Richard Lewis
23:40 Night Boat
3:00 On the Edge of the Shell

CHANNEL 3

7:00 Good Evening with Guy Pine (pt)
7:30 Love Story with Yael Spector
8:00 Sunset Beach
8:30 One Life to Live
8:45 The Young and the Restless
10:30 Days of Our Lives
11:15 Dulce Ana (pt)
12:00 Love Boat
12:45 Hard to Hart
13:30 John Lamquette
14:00 Sunset Beach
14:50 Days of Our Lives
15:30 Murphy Brown
16:00 Dulce Ana
16:45 One Life to Live
17:30 Love Story with Yael Spector
18:00 Good Evening with Guy Pine
18:30 Local Broadcast
19:00 To Young and the Restless
19:40 Beverly Hills 90210
20:25 The Other Half - dating program with Shiri Brenner and Nati Raviv
21:00 Third Rock from the Sun
21:10 Frasier
21:35 Seinfeld
22:00 Yair Lapid Live at 10

CHANNEL 8

6:00 Open University
6:30 The Jaguar People
6:45 Angels of the Sky
7:00 The World Today
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